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CC Plenum Starts; Mladenov Discusses 'Decline'

AU1112150389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Tsveti Gerov report on beginning of BCP Central Committee Plenum on 11 December]

[Text] We are now reporting on the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, which opened 1 hour ago at the Boyana Residence.

In addition to Central Committee members, the secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union Permanent Board, the first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, party veterans, and some distinguished figures of the economic and cultural spheres, who are not members of the BCP Central Committee, have been invited to attend.

On behalf of the Politburo, Comrade Aleksandur Lilov proposed the agenda, namely: discussion of the country's situation and immediate tasks.

After the adoption of the agenda, the report read by Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, has been going on for over an hour.

This hour is sufficient for those attending to get a realistic picture of the way we got into the current situation. The word crisis and even profound crisis, has been used more and more frequently since 10 November, but what is hidden behind it?

Profound deformations in society, stagnation in economic development, the threat of backwardness in structural and technological renewal, increasing foreign debt, inflation, difficulties on the domestic market, corruption—all these are deeply affecting the intellectual development of the nation and contribute to a serious deterioration of confidence in the party.

The first main question, Comrade Mladenov pointed out, is how we got into this situation and who is responsible?

A precise and well-founded answer on the subjective and objective causes of this situation cannot be provided immediately, but now, today, we mark the beginning of an honest and frank reevaluation.

The general secretary described the Stalinist model that assumed typical, Bulgarian features under our conditions, and the established Stalinist administrative-command system and the monopoly of power as some of the basic reasons for the situation. The report also mentioned the disastrous role played by Todor Zhivkov and his entourage. Comrade Petur Mladenov said: The former leadership has left us an inheritance of progressing economic decline.

Let us mention a few other points of the speech that I marked down in my notebook:

Sharp disproportions have emerged and are intensifying in the economic sector. Basic national economic balances were disrupted. The gap between the people's incomes and the available goods and services has grown. The difficulties in the financial sphere are exceptionally serious: The state budget is subjected to expenditures that it cannot bear. For several years the budget was closed with a great deficit, inflation is growing, the Bulgarian lev is being devaluated. The large foreign debt in convertible foreign currency amounts to $5 billion, and the real one is approaching even $8 billion, which should be considered as a critical limit.

The revenues from foreign exchange are diminishing in addition to this. The report points out as a positive factor that our country has paid its debts toward the socialist countries.

A relative deterioration of the competitiveness of Bulgarian economy was also established.

The plenum continues its work, you will hear from us during the next news programs.

Mladenov Proposes Elections

AU1112164289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] We already provided a briefing on some basic facts contained in the report read by Comrade Petur Mladenov at today's Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee [BCP] plenum. As our reporters inform us, the BCP Central Committee general secretary submitted the following proposals in his report.

The Central Committee should decide to convene an extraordinary BCP Congress on 26 March 1990.

The party should take the initiative that the National Assembly, after adopting the new election law, but no later than the end of May 1990, should schedule democratic, free elections.

At the January session of the National Assembly, on the basis of specific government proposals, a system of measures should be examined to stabilize the economic situation, solve the most urgent social problems, and drastically reduce the state expenditures.

The newly elected National Assembly should, as soon as possible and as early as 1990, examine and approve a new constitution for the country. On the basis of the new constitution, work should start on a large-scale legislative reform that should settle the legal basis of all spheres of national life, including the economic, sociopolitical, and intellectual spheres.

By the end of 1990, basic laws should be adopted for implementing an economic reform, including a law on property, a law on the land, and the use of land. The National Assembly should establish a broadly based commission to examine corruption and abuse of power.

A permanent, constructive dialogue should begin with all social forces that have adopted the stands of socialism, which support the law-governed state, and patriotism.

The plenum is continuing with further statements.

Details of Proposals

AU1112190889 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 11 Dec 89

["BCP CC Politburo Proposals"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—At the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], which started today, the Politburo of the Central Committee made proposals for urgent steps of importance for the whole nation:

Following are the proposals:

To convene an extraordinary congress of the CC of the BCP on March 26, 1990;

The BCP should come out with the initiative that the National Assembly should fix a date for free democratic elections immediately after the adoption of the new election bill, but not later than the end of May, 1990;

At the January session of the National Assembly, on the basis of concrete proposals of the government, should be discussed a system of measures for stabilization of the economic situation, for resolution of the most burning social problems and a sharp reduction of state expenses;

The newly elected National Assembly, in the shortest possible term, as early as 1990, should discuss and adopt a new constitution of this country;

On the basis of the new constitution, a new broad-scale legislative reform should be undertaken;

By the end 1990 should be adopted the basic laws for the carrying out of the economic reform, a property bill and a land and land management bill included;

The National Assembly should appoint a commission with broad membership, which should investigate the corruption and the abuse of power;

To start a permanent constructive dialogue with all public forces standing on the positions of socialism, the law-abiding state and patriotism.

Report on 1st Day

AU1112194289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] A plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) opened in Sofia today to discuss the state of the Bulgarian economy and immediate tasks. Apart from members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee, the following were invited to take part in the plenum: the secretary and members of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union; the first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; party veterans; and certain eminent economic and cultural figures, who were not members of the BCP Central Committee.

In the report of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee, presented by Comrade Petur Mladenov, a analysis was made of the present state of the country and the reasons that had led to such a serious sociopolitical, economic and social crisis. In addition to this, specific proposals were put forward for eliminating the distortions that had been permitted and the accumulated problems, and proposals for solving the most urgent tasks.

Before the start of the discussion on the report, the participants in the plenum were acquainted with a letter to the plenum from Tsola Dragoycheva. The first to speak of the more than 80 persons who had put down their names were Ivan Tenev, chairman of the Electronics Association; Georgi Grigorov, first secretary of Sofia City BCP Committee; and David Elazar, director of the History of the BCP Institute.

The plenum will continue its work tomorrow.

Causes of 'Serious Crisis'

AU1112200089 Sofia BTA in English 1848 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—The CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] opened its plenum today. BCP veterans, eminent economic and cultural figures and leaders of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party are also taking part in the plenum.

The report of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP "on the situation in the country and the party and the immediate tasks" was presented by Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP.

The causes for the serious crisis and the growing social tensions are the still-existing Stalinist command-administrative system, the monopoly over power, the actually total control of the bureaucratic top crust on production and distribution, it is pointed out in the report.

After saying that every attempt at disparaging Bulgaria's achievements of the last decades would contradict historic truth, the report points out that in the last years the country has entered a serious crisis. There are mentioned the deep deformations in society and the system of management, the stagnation in economic development, the alarming lagging behind with the structural and technological innovation of the economy—after-effects of gross errors in the economic and investment policy, the alarming growth of the foreign debt and the increase of inflation, the serious hardships in the domestic market, the worsening of living standards, the wide spread of corruption, the damage inflicted on spiritual and intellectual life, the decline of basic moral values. It is added that Todor Zhivkov's personal regime had

assumed monstrous proportions. It is pointed out that the serious drop of the confidence in the BCP is a result of all these trends and phenomena.

The situation, created in the state and public system, is labeled in the report as "similar to feudal government." It is also said that the power has been usurped by a small group headed by Todor Zhivkov. It had acquired a "family-fellow countryman" character and it was surrounded by power-lovers and climbers. "From the supreme leader they received key positions and benefits that enabled them, using his name and the name of the party and the state, to act high-handedly, to manipulate basic public institutions," points out the report. The conclusion is: "The regime degenerated into a dictatorship of a clan where the actually acting persons were the people of the personal circle of the secretary general and his propaganda and repressive entourage."

The report also poses the question about the responsibility of the party leadership. It reads: "We, those present here, or the greater part of us, were among the people of the leadership in whose time the different failures happened, and if we have to be honest we should call them collapses. That leadership had been unanimously elected at a number of party congresses, received a vote of approval for its policy at them. Only making public the truth, the whole truth, can be our purgatory."

On International Policy

AU1112221189 Sofia BTA in English 2103 GMT 11 Dec 89

["New Approaches in International Policy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—The transformation of Bulgaria into a modern democratic and law-abiding state requires insistently new approaches and decisions in the international policy. The foreign activity of the BCP and this state also require certain reconsideration, reads the report delivered at the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], which started today.

It points out the principled importance for Bulgaria of the deep changes in the socialist countries, first of all in the Soviet Union, and of the interaction between the parties and states on the road of restructuring. There have not been and there will not be important or less important spheres of the Bulgaro-Soviet cooperation and interaction. We are sincerely convinced that the friendship between the Bulgarian and the Soviet people does not need showiness and varnishing, that our relations must be sincere and businesslike. The recent visit of a Bulgarian delegation to the USSR, the meetings and talks with Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed that conviction, reads the report.

The membership in the Warsaw Treaty and in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is viewed as necessary from the viewpoint of the national interests. It is also pointed out that Bulgaria will work actively along with its allies for the increase of the constructive contribution of these organizations in the international life.

Further on it is stressed that the beginning of the overcoming of Europe's division obliges this country to make a new self-assessment as an European state. The deepening CSCE process offers favourable opportunities for participation in the international division of labour, in the exchange of material and intellectual values. Bulgaria, without any reserves, adopts the concept for a Common European House and will continue to give her contribution for its construction. That sets the task to activate decisively the European trend in the foreign policy.

Bulgaria attaches great importance to her relations with the neighbouring countries, toward which it will implement even more its initiative policy of good-neighbour relations and cooperation. "Apart from the guaranteeing of security, understanding and development of the cooperation in its present scale and forms, we must think about the gaining of new positions, i.e. to overcome the traditional barriers hampering the Balkan communication, i.e. mutual breaking with old stereotypes," reads the report.

It points out that this country will abide strictly to its obligations ensuing from the agreements of Helsinki and Vienna. This will be the base for the construction of the cooperation with the other countries, for the work for improvement of Bulgaria as a law-abiding state, a worthy partner in the international relations.

The new political situation in the world and in this country requires to search for new opportunities for cooperation with the fraternal parties, as well as with a broader spectre of political and public organizations, movements, forces. The dialogue with them will assist the construction of a world without wars and violence, the resolution of the global problems, reads the report further.

In conclusion, it is pointed out that the foreign policy will be completely opened to the world, to the all-human problems and quests. This policy is one of the most important conditions for the carrying out of the restructuring, for the turning of Bulgaria into a really progressive modern state.

Report Restructuring

AU1112224389 Sofia BTA in English 2153 GMT 11 Dec 89

["Decisive Restructuring of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—Any innovation in Bulgaria would be impossible without innovating the Bulgarian Communist Party, it is stressed in the report of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] presented by BCP CC Secretary General Petur Mladenov at the plenum which started here today.

One of the most bitter truths, which we will have to tell each other as Communists, is that now the party is suffering a serious internal crisis, said Mr Petur Mladenov, adding that the situation in the BCP mirrors to a great degree the situation in the Bulgarian society.

He pointed out that authoritarian methods and style, hypertrophied centralism, unscrupulousness and dread psychosis have been until recently prevailing in party life. Party members distrusted both the governing party bodies and a number of individual party leaders. The trust of the broad social strata of the people in the party itself was also shaken, said the general secretary of the CC of the BCP.

The report formulates the basic principles and directions on which the restructuring of the party should be based. It is pointed out that the BCP must resolutely and irreversibly abandon command-administrative methods both in its intraparty life and in its relations with the state and society. It was stressed that the party should lead the people along the road to socialism and prosperity by using only political methods.

The party must put an end to bureaucracy and dogmatism in its ranks. First of all the high-ranking party bodies should restore all primary party organizations to their rights to real participation in the formation of the party policy at all levels, they should be granted autonomy in solving local problems and should have the right to exercise all-embracing public control over the activity of both leading bodies and leaders.

Ensuring broad glasnost in the party, making the party's archives accessible to all Communists, eliminating intraparty secrets are considered the basic prerequisites for the democratization of the BCP. Another important task is to create a sound ideological, political, moral and psychological atmosphere in the party.

The whole activity of the BCP should be carried out in conformity with the Constitution and the law, said Mr Mladenov, stressing that it is necessary to start immediately practical work for delimiting the functions of the party and those of the state.

It is pointed out in the report that the party should participate in the management of the state, but it should be done through the legal parliamentary regime. Its policy will be realized through the Communists elected in parliament, the government and the other state institutions. This will not lessen the role of the BCP, on the contrary, it will objectively and really strengthened.

The personal qualities of all candidates for membership in the BCP and their sincere readiness to fight for the restructuring and the future of socialism will be the main reference points in the policy of the party regarding its personnel.

We consider rightful the propositions made by many Communists that the party should distance and free itself from the leaders who lowered its prestige and did not justify the vote of confidence passed to them, Mr Petur Mladenov said. He pointed out that the statute of the party should prevent the members of high-ranking party leaders' families from occupying responsible posts at the BCP.

Leading positions and especially the post of secretary general must never should be made use of again for satisfying personal ambitions for power and other self-interested motives, Mr Mladenov stated. On behalf of the Politburo he proposed that the office-holding term for high-ranking posts at the BCP should be limited to two mandates. Leading posts at the BCP. [sentence as received] Please specify that this rule becomes operative as of today, December 11, 1989 and the first mandate of the present leadership expires at the forthcoming congress, he said.

The report pointed out the necessity of working out, within the process of all-party discussion which has already begun, of a uniform concept of the strategy and the tactics of the BCP. If we want to be a factor in consolidating all public forces in the name of the socialist innovation, we should consolidate the ranks of party members first, we should efficiently mobilize all party detachments and generations in the pursuit of the new course, Mr Mladenov stated.

The speaker expressed the conviction that the all-party discussion will deepen in the process of working out the political platform of the party, the draft for a new party statute and the documents for the next supreme party forum. In response to the particular importance of the present moment for the life of the party and the country and by taking into account the thousands of wishes expressed and recommendations made by the Communists, the Politburo decided to propose to the plenum to convocation [as received] of an extraordinary congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party the soonest possible, Mr Mladenov said.

The further advancement of the restructuring makes it necessary to discuss and find solutions to the most important tasks and targets which the BCP has set itself to achieve for the purpose of innovating the political, the economic and the intellectual sphere. Our party has no right to delay the analysis and the solution of the newly arisen problems and situations, it cannot afford to lag behind the developments that are taking place. Any delay can prove disastrous for the fate of the socialist society in Bulgaria. These are the lessons drawn from the latest developments in some fraternal countries, it is underlined in the report in conclusion.

BCP Ready for Dialogue

AU1212073089 Sofia BTA in English 2332 GMT 11 Dec 89

["Communist Party Ready for Dialogue"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—The dialogue with the informal organizations will start immediately when the sides, interested in the well-being of our people, are ready to sit and talk, said at a press conference here today Mr Evgeni Aleksandrov, spokesman of the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party]. He informed that there are different ideas already about the form of the dialogue itself. It is possible, for instance, that it be a "round table" as in other East European countries.

Asked whether the elections offered to be held in the spring will be competitive, he expressed the conviction that they will have "all attributes of democratic elections" in accordance with the will of the Bulgarian people.

To a question whether the future government will include representatives of informal organizations, the spokesman of the plenum answered that the proposed elections will give an opportunity to the new parliament to form such a government which it finds appropriate. I think that it will represent integrally the interests of the entire Bulgarian people, all initiative groups and societies included, of all parts of the society, he added.

Mr Evgeni Aleksandrov stressed that the formal presence of Article One in the Bulgarian Constitution, which determines the leading role of the Communist Party, will not hamper the representation of the interests of the entire people because of the political consensus at present. It was proposed at the plenum to cancel this article in the new constitution.

The spokesman of the plenum of the CC of the BCP said that an interesting and dynamic discussion is expected at tomorrow's session of the plenum. Dozens of people have applied to speak and the idea is to give the floor to everyone. "We will witness something unprecedented," he pointed out.

'Sweeping' Reform Needed

AU1212074089 Sofia BTA in English 2304 GMT 11 Dec 89

["New Concept of State"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—Today all the country, Communists and non-party members, old and young generations are well aware that the salutary road consists in dismantling the command-administrative system and establishing a democratic, socialist and law-abiding state, it is said in the report of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] presented at the plenum which was opened today.

It is underlined that the main condition for bringing about a real change and overcoming the crisis is to outline correct strategic targets and to implement a sweeping economic and political reform in all fields of social life.

Economic innovation is impossible without carrying out restructuring in the political sphere and vice versa, it is said in the report. Attention is also drawn to the experience of the other socialist countries which proved that any discrepancies in this field can give rise to destructive phenomena on a social-state plane.

The first and most important step along this road is the establishment of an innovated parliamentary system, of a true socialist parliament, which should become an embodiment of the people's self-management in the spirit of the best national and democratic traditions, by entirely restoring the supremacy of the National Assembly. The State Council and the Council of Ministers should regularly render an account of their activity to the parliament. A radical change should be made in the methods of carrying out legislative activity and efficient control should be organized to make sure that laws and other parliamentary decisions are observed.

The report raises the question whether it is necessary to have a State Council under the conditions of a permanently working National Assembly and whether it wouldn't be feasible to introduce the institution of head of state.

The Council of Ministers should resume the place assigned to it by the Constitution. The Politburo holds the opinion that the forcible passiveness and one-sidedness in the government's activity are among the causes for the chaos of affairs in the administrative, the economic, the social and other spheres of national life.

The report points out that the most important expression of the people's desire for all-embracing innovation is the upsurge of public activity which is assuming mass proportions and is being carried out in most diversified forms. It is an undeniable fact that the party and the state should form a new policy regarding the public groups and movements. A new global approach is needed which should take into consideration the increasing role of the human factor and social consciousness, it is underlined in the report.

Pointing out that in the meantime certain other forces have appeared which have other aims and ambitions and which, if given the freedom wanted by them, will plunge the society into anarchy and tragedy, the Politburo of the CC of the BCP expresses the conviction that the Bulgarian society and the Bulgarian people are sufficiently mature politically.

Bulgaria's further socio-political development is possible only on the basis of the democratization of socialism, including the assertion of the principle of pluralism. This will be the basis of the legislative reform which will be implemented in the near future.

The leadership of the BCP is aware of the existence of a difficult problem related to the tensions created in part of the population, a certain number of which left the country this year. We all understand that the problem is complicated. That is why the Politburo of the CC of the

BCP considers that it would be right to submit this problem to a detailed and comprehensive analysis which should become the basis for suggesting a solution to it, it is said in the report.

The work of the law-enforcement authorities of the Ministry of the Interior should be substantially changed and improved, relieving them of a number of alien functions.

The draft for a new constitution should solve in a new principled way all general questions of life in the country and society, including the political and the economic system, the questions related to property, the subjects of power and their competency, the basic rights, freedoms and duties of citizens and the guarantees for exercising them. Obviously Article 1 of the present Constitution which guarantees the leading of the BCP should be approached in this light. In a democratic society the party's role can be only the result of the people's confidence, it is said in the report.

The report also points out that a new election law with a clearly defined topical political task creating the conditions for holding free democratic elections should be worked out in parallel with making up the new constitution.

Report on Economy

AU1212082589 Sofia BTA in English 2315 GMT 11 Dec 89

["On the State of the Bulgarian Economy and the Overcoming of the Crisis "—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—The policy in the sphere of the economy implemented by the former regime has the full ground to be called "Apres moi le deluge." The Bulgarian people inherits a heavy mortgage, reads the report of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], delivered at today's plenum of the Central Committee by the secretary general of the CC of the party Petur Mladenov.

The socio-economic situation in Bulgaria at present is characterized as one "on the verge of heart attack."

The rates of economic growth are going down. Some sharp disproportions are deepening. The share of worn-out production facilities is 40-45 per cent. The production of a number of goods during the recent years is lesser in comparison to 1980. The gap between the cash resources of the population and the goods and services offered is constantly growing. For the period after 1980 the income of the population has grown by 54 per cent and the volume of the commodity funds by 39 per cent. At present the population has at its disposal 25 billion leva in saving accounts but the commodities it can buy are not much. Only this year it is expected that the free cash resources will increase by another 1.8 billion leva.

The state budget has been burdened with expenses beyond all bearing for the Bulgarian capacities. A number of these expenses conceal incompetence in management, inefficient investments, low quality and badly organized labour. For a number of years the budget balance has shown great deficit. The debt of the state to the banks has exceeded 10 billion leva at an annual budget income for 1988 of 26 billion. The inflation tendencies are deepening, although they had not been admitted till the present.

The gross debt of the state in convertible currency exceeds 10 billion U.S. dollars. Bulgaria possesses gold currency reserves amounting to about 1.3 billion dollars. In the next few years Bulgaria will receive credits from other countries for about 1.5 billion dollars. This will make the gross debt of the state in convertible currency almost 8 billion dollars, which is assessed as the critical limit.

The report reads that recently the country has paid its debts to the socialist countries and at present the payment balance with them is steady.

The efficiency and competitiveness of the Bulgarian economy has been relatively, and in some cases absolutely, decreased. In the base of this tendency lie serious mistakes in the investment policy pursued during the last 20 years.

In an analysis of the reasons for the negative phenomena it is pointed out that the beginning of the present difficulties dates back as early as 15-20 years ago. Regardless of a number of decisions at congresses and conferences the country has undergone a development based on an extensive principle at a constantly increasing insufficiency of labour and raw material resources.

The chief reason for the deformations and the crisis are rooted in the essence of the command-administrative system of government. It is not by chance, reads the report, that all socialist countries face identical or similar problems in the economic and social sphere.

During the recent years, especially, the decisions on all questions concerning the economy have been made by Todor Zhivkov, often as a result of casual motives. The report notes also the great personal responsibility of Grisha Filipov, Ognyan Doynov, Stoyan Ovcharov and Petko Danchev.

The government has been enervated by the seizing of its functions, through constant and unfounded structural and personnel changes. The role of the National Assembly has been completely neglected.

The report assesses as "gross thoughtlessness and irresponsibility" the nationalisation of the cooperative sector and the destruction of the cooperative farms, an act which has had irreversible consequences in many aspects. Millions of decares of land have been ruined. Entire regions in this country have been depopulated. From a traditional exporter Bulgaria has become a regular importer of potatoes, beans, cabbage, onions, and fodder for hundreds of millions of dollars.

In the analysis of the attempts for economic reforms undertaken during the recent decades it is said that the good ideas in them had not been a few. But that did not have an impact on the growing nationalisation of the economy and the regime of personal power. It is stressed that the bureaucratic top crust had been afraid for its monopoly on power and had boycotted them. The administrative-command system opened the road for different distortions, for instance the establishing of privileges in social, professional, hierarchical and class respects. There was deliberate kindling of antagonism between workers and peasants, workers and intellectuals. Conditions were created for corruption, for "shadow economy," rackets, reads the report.

The market devoid of goods raises the degree of social tension day by day. It is admitted in the report that there is a deficit of basics at present, as well as of a number of other more durable and valuable goods. The deficit, the long queues in the shops form a heavy psychological atmosphere.

It is pointed out that even recently, when radical views for the creation of a socialist market economy and company-based organization were adopted, the vectors of the command-administrative method had availed of the opportunities for elimination of the production democracy and of self-management in the enterprises. A part of the apparatus, highest levels included, had got afraid of the democratic changes and hurried to reduce their consequences to minimum, reads the report.

The report offers short-term measures for overcoming of the economic crisis, which should be applied in 1990.

They are the following:

—maximum possible increase of the production of goods and services for the population; to give priority to the production of consumer products over the production of production means;

—to increase considerably the capital investments for new facilities and technologies in agriculture; to stimulate and accelerate the conversion of the defence industry;

—to solve the housing problems and the problems of the people with income under the social minimum;

—to pay special attention to ecological problems;

—to work out a new policy concerning income which should strengthen social justice; to overcome levelling, which has deep roots in the public consciousness at present;

—the state and the companies should implement a reasonable policy of close relation between the salaries and the final production, a reasonable policy concerning income and prices in order to limit the inflation;

—deep restructuring of the production structure. Returning of the Bulgarian economy to its natural-climatic and resource realities;

—to review the state and the prospects of the losing and low-profit enterprises, to reorganize or close them;

—to pay special attention to international tourism;

—to undertake drastic measures for stabilization of the financial balances. To eliminate the budget deficit of the state. To reduce to a minimum the expenses of the state related to the activity of certain public organizations and for representative aims. Considerable reduction of the expenses for administrative-governing personnel at all levels;

—to restore the cooperative farms, to develop leasing relations, to give assistance to the establishing of individual farms with a right of property over the land and the production funds.

At the same time the report points out that as a more distant prospect resolutions must be taken concerning a number of basic problems:

—to overcome the non-Marxist, in its essence, view on the incompatibility between socialism and market economy;

—to provide conditions for development of all forms of property;

—to guarantee the principles of socialist justice in the conditions of market economy;

—to determine the ratio, optimal for Bulgaria, between market independence of the economic units and the state planning and regulation;

—to create conditions for the development of the production democracy and socialist self-management.

Plenum Starts 2d Day

AU1212072989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] At this time the plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party should be beginning the second day of its work in the Boyana Residence in Sofia.

Discussions are scheduled to take place on the report delivered by Comrade Petur Mladenov on the state of the country and the immediate tasks. There are 80 people who have put down their names to speak.

Daily Admits SA-10 Missile 'Really Deployed'

AU1212094989 Sofia BTA in English 0847 GMT 12 Dec 89

[From BTA Review of Sofia Press for 12 December]

[Text] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—In connection with the recent publication in the WASHINGTON TIMES in which it was alleged that the Soviet Union has deployed new anti-aircraft missiles in Bulgaria, NARODNA ARMIYA runs an article by General Lyubcho Blagoev, commander of the Air Defence and Air Forces. The author says that an SA-10 anti-aircraft missile is really deployed in Bulgaria, but it does not belong to the Soviet Union, it is merely produced by the USSR.

Ecoglasnost Association Registered at Court

AU1112172989 Sofia BTA in English 1549 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—The Independent Association Whose Ideal Target Is Ecoglasnost was registered today through the Sofia City Court of Law. The association filed an application in April, but it was denied by the jury that studied it. After Ecoglasnost lodged an appeal, the Supreme Court reversed the previous decision and returned the case for a new hearing.

Ms Liliya Kasabova, one of the members of the jury, said that the problem arose out of the insufficiently clear text of the law, that is why she cannot blame her colleagues for the decision they had previously taken.

The session of the National Assembly which is scheduled for December 14 will discuss a new bill concerning citizens' public organizations.

Ecoglasnost is the first registered independent organization. It has made it its purpose to work for the achievement of full glasnost on the ecological problems of Bulgaria, the improvement of the environment and ecological protection of the population. Chairman of the Executive Board of the association is the actor Petur Slabakov.

Candlelight Vigils Held Outside BCP Building

AU1112171089 Sofia BTA in English 1556 GMT 11 Dec 89

["Silent Demonstration With Candles"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 11 (BTA)—Thousands of people carrying lit candles crowded the central square in front of the Building of CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in Sofia twice today. It was their response to the appeal made at yesterday's big rally "to show those sitting in session during the CC BCP plenum that we are here".

It is planned to repeat this civic action tomorrow, too.

Gabrovo Workers Protest Enterprise Merger

AU0712141989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Dec 89 p 2

[Khristo Minchev report from Gabrovo: "Protest Rally"]

[Text] Gabrovo, 4 December—A protest rally took place at the Gabrovo Plant for Peripheral Graphic Devices [grafichni periferni ustroystva]. The labor collective protested against the proposal of the Mekhatronika combine to establish a company in which the Gabrovo plant should be included. "There are no reasons for this reorganization, for the time being, considering that our plant is a sound enterprise which produces a large portion of Bulgaria's microelectronic equipment," they said.

Nedko Nedev, first secretary of the Gabrovo Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, attended the rally. In a frank discussion it was explained that several working groups have been entrusted with preparing a proposal, based on reasonable arguments, assessing economic results and taking into consideration the opinions of the two sides for deciding whether the reorganization in question should be carried out, or not.

New Parties Submit Material to Press Service

AU0512152289 Sofia BTA in English 1439 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 5 (BTA)—The first copy of the Bulletin of the Courier Press Service will come out tomorrow. The Press Service was set up at the BTA for circulating documents of public organizations, creative workers' unions and independent associations.

The establishment of the Press Service was announced on November 30 in the evening. So far more than 60 documents of parties, organizations, associations, unions and initiative groups in Sofia and the country and many other materials have been received.

The documents were sent by the Bulgarian Workers' Socialist Party (United), the Union of Free Democrats, the Radical Democratic Party, the Christian Republican Party in Plovdiv (its representatives expressed their wish to take out a subscription for the Courier Bulletin) and the Bulgarian Agrarian Union (Nikola Petkov).

The following materials will appear in the first issue of the Bulletin: the Programme Declaration of the Independent Student League, the Constituent Declaration of the Christian Republican Party, documents of the Club for Support of Glasnost and Restructuring (Openness and Democracy), address of the Executive Board of the Federation of Sci-Technical Unions.

Constitution Day Officially Celebrated

AU0412221089 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 4 (BTA)—Today the efforts of Bulgarian jurists are directed at the development of the legal mechanism, of the legal bases, guaranteeing the irreversibility of the processes of restructuring and the impossibility to restore the command and administrative system.

The celebration of the Day of the Constitution and Jurists in this country, December 4, turned into an occasion to emphasize the Bulgarian jurists' will to work for humanization and democratization of social relations, for taking to the forefront human values and rights of the citizens.

The new Bulgarian Constitution, the developed new normative documents and the changes and amendments of the existing ones are aiming to guarantee the rights and freedoms of all citizens in compliance with the values of socialism, of modern civilization, stresses in a report Mr Atanas Atanasov, deputy chief public prosecutor of Bulgaria.

Attention was also drawn at the fact that the changes in the national legislation closely comply with the international obligations adopted by Bulgaria.

By the same decree, Lyubomir Pavlov Krustev is relieved of this position.

Lawyers Submit Demands on Constitution Day

AU0412203089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] On the occasion of Constitution Day and Lawyers Day, a general meeting of the Sofia Lawyers' Collegium was held and chaired by chairman [name indistinct].

The appeal that was adopted contains demands for a prompt amendment of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and for a comprehensive renewal of legislation resulting in the establishment of a constitutional court of justice likely to safeguard the observance of the Constitution.

The adoption of a law on establishing a bar association [advokatura] and the guarantee of the free exercise of the lawyer's profession, as well as the repealing of the former decision to close down the Palace of Justice, which should be returned to the organs of jurisdiction, were also requested.

The proposal to establish a Bulgarian lawyers union as an independent public, professional, and creative organization, expected to be founded at the forthcoming [word indistinct], was also discussed.

New Radio, Television Director Appointed

AU0412212589 Sofia BTA in English 1838 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 4 (BTA)—Filip Georgiev Bokov is appointed chairman of the Committee for Television and Radio by a State Council Decree.

Expert Suggests Measures To Improve Economy

AU0412160489 Sofia BTA in English 1501 GMT 4 Dec 89

["Economic Legacy"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 4 (BTA)—Bulgaria must urgently work out a strategy to enter the single European market, to join the International Monetary Fund and to accede to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, asserts Mr Dimitur Ivanov, an expert of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics, in an article contributed to the TRUD newspaper.

He singles out the pursuit of political and economic cooperation with the industrialized countries as a prime condition for the country's recovery from its economic crisis.

In the economist's view, if it retains its autarchy and isolation within the CMEA from the world economy, Bulgaria will not be able to achieve a balanced economic development. A balanced development will also require a fundamentally new policy and strategy concerning Bulgaria's participation in the CMEA and its bilateral cooperation with each CMEA member country.

The global politico-economic purpose of restructuring the economic regulatory system should be, in his opinion, a comprehensive transition to the principles and the actual practices of a modern market economy.

Discussing ownership, the author rationalizes the need to allow a full-scale advancement of economic pluralism of the forms of ownership on equal terms.

Fatherland Front Daily Discusses Renewal

AU0712174989 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 1 Dec 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Genuine and Determined Renewal of the Fatherland Front"]

[Excerpts] The situation in the country today is characterized by a new reality that is determined by the party's policy, shaped at the November Central Committee plenums, for a real and determined revolutionary renewal of society. The chief element in this policy is the construction of a modern democratic self-managing civic society, organized in a law-governed state in full accordance with the socialist path of development that has been freely chosen by our people.

The Fatherland Front, as an organization and popular movement, as an exponent of the attitudes and will of the broadest strata of the population, totally supports and stands behind this policy, and will work for it, because it meets the interests of the country's citizens, and hence corresponds to the program goals and tasks of the Fatherland Front. [passage omitted]

As is well-known, the debasement of the Fatherland Front's political importance and the attempts even to eliminate it are connected, first and foremost, with the period of the cult of personality in Bulgaria, when the Fatherland Front was spoken of as an appendage of the people's councils. However, this undervaluing, albeit by other means, "views, and approaches," continued for years afterward. It is true that in the reports and resolutions of the party congresses and in T.

Zhivkov's speeches to the Fatherland Front congresses, declarations were made about the front's role as "a most all-embracing organization and nationwide movement," "a social guarantor," "partner and opponent," and so on. Fatherland Front leaders and officials made great and conscientious efforts to interpret the sense of these not-always-lucid and quickly changing instructions and, at the same time, to carry out useful work connected with the life of the people. This, however, proved exceptionally difficult, because the declared party premises were not honestly followed by the party organs themselves, or by the responsible cadres of the people's councils. The party committees disregarded the Fatherland Front and failed to work with it in its dialogue with the population, but predominantly used the administrative methods of the state organs. A large portion of the party members, Allied Agrarians, and others, especially those holding leading posts at different levels, took no part in the work where people live, where the people's important everyday social problems, political, economic, cultural, moral-ethical and other problems arise and weigh most heavily.

In this way the Fatherland Front, which was born as an act of the party, as a necessary and irreplaceable organization for unified action by the Bulgarian Communist Party, Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, social organizations, party non-members, and the broadest strata of the population, was turned into "one of the mass organizations," essentially a subdivision of the totalitarian regime and the command-administrative system.

This could not fail to lead to a decline in the authority of the organization as a whole and of the Fatherland Front organs and officials, including the Fatherland Front National Council. For more than 2 years following the 10th Fatherland Front Congress, despite the fact that specific proposals were made for the front's restructuring, no conditions for this were created and no consent was given for convening plenums of the Fatherland Front National Council. On the other hand, it was considered that the Presidium of the National Council, in which the broad public is represented, should cease to exist. The point was reached that the postulate about the so-called committees of political and social forces was not discussed in advance with Fatherland Front officials, or even with its leadership, but was imposed without the knowledge or consent of the National Council, with an instruction issued that it should be represented as "an initiative from below." In essence, this postulate of Todor Zhivkov's was an attempt to eliminate the Fatherland Front. We reject the need for committees of political and social forces. They encroach upon and duplicate the very essence of the Fatherland Front, because the latter is nothing but an organization and movement of these social forces. [passage omitted]

There is an urgent need to rally the different strata and groups of the population and their associations around the real restructuring of the country in the name of socialism. It is here that we must seek and reveal the Fatherland Front's natural and irreplaceable role, and must harness the front's own restructuring to this main goal. [passage omitted]

In this connection, it now is necessary, first and foremost, to manifest the Fatherland Front's political role, to elevate to a qualitatively new level the coordination and unification of the efforts of all the social factors in discussing and deciding both tasks of a national nature and the problems of the territorial municipalities, with the direct participation of the people and by the people themselves, directing these efforts toward continuously strengthening the unity of the Bulgarian nation, of which we have so great a need today. [passage omitted]

There is also the issue of the Fatherland Front and the associations and groups that have appeared. The Fatherland Front is, and will continue to be a social formation of the different strata of the population, irrespective of their political and professional affiliations and their religious or other views. The Fatherland Front has no reason to distance itself, or to close its doors to anyone, the so-called informal associations included, who wants to work for restructuring in accordance with our people's socialist choice, while respecting the provisions of the existing Constitution. Of course, some voices are being raised with extreme, sometimes even nonsocialist demands. As exponents of the will of the population, we cannot agree with these voices and will repulse them politically. At the same time, however, we are convinced that in a number of cases the extreme standpoints are not a result of truly antisocialist views, but are an expression of the growing tension in society, an outburst of reaction, accumulated over many years, against the negative phenomena in many spheres and activities. [passage omitted]

The question of the country's stability is vitally important, and the Fatherland Front stands for stability. However, it is not the opened floodgates of democracy, nor pluralism of opinions, nor openly naming shortcomings that threaten stability. The danger comes from elsewhere: from failure to master the knack of conducting a dialogue, from extremism, and from failures on occasion by individual groups and citizens to display common sense and wisdom. [passage omitted]

The Fatherland Front, exercising the powers granted to it by the law, will resolutely defend the holding of polls or referendums on all issues concerning the population's vital interests, and will defend the right of the self-managing organs of the territorial communities to express their own independent views. We can no longer justify the situation in which the executive committees of the people's councils did not consent to hold general meetings of the population in the townships or referendums in populated areas. When the people want an issue to be decided in this manner, the committees of the Fatherland Front must stand behind them. [passage omitted]

It is now time for the Fatherland Front organizations to demand that the people's councillors and people's representatives regularly account for their actions as chosen

representatives of the people, according to the law and their consciences, in their own electoral constituencies.

It is now time to increase the cooperation with the people's councils, but with a clear delineation of powers and responsibilities. The Fatherland Front, as the exponent of public opinion and public attitudes, must assist by political means and approaches to increase the role of the people's councils as organs of power and self-management, while blocking the direct, and sometimes unlawful, role of the apparatus and the bureaucracy. [passage omitted]

The times demand that we draw up a broad platform for the Fatherland Front's role and actions, for its decisive renewal. The ideas set out in this article reflect the views and assessments voiced in conversations and discussions held in the National Council following the party's November plenums concerning the role and place of the Fatherland Front under the new conditions of restructuring. A plenum of the National Council is coming up. This plenum will continue the discussion that has started throughout the country and will outline measures for the qualitative renewal of the Fatherland Front, in order to turn it into the organization that its members and the present political realities require it to become.

The Fatherland Front raises on high the tricolor banner of national renewal, which Bulgaria needs today more than ever before. The Fatherland Front will be a true front of Bulgarian patriots in the name of the people's well-being and the advance of our motherland.

Fatherland Front Declares Support for Changes

AU0212213789 Sofia BTA in English 2010 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—The Fatherland Front endorses the will to resolutely renounce the negative remnants of the past and to destroy the command-administrative system. It absolutely approves the first steps taken by the new party and state leadership and the National Assembly for the establishment of a modern democratic and law-abiding state, it is said in today's declaration of the Presidium of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

The Fatherland Front, being an organization of the broadest strata of the population, should take part in the development of the society along the path to democracy and self-management, pointed out the participants in the session of the Presidium of the National Council of the Fatherland Front which was held here today.

Mr Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front and member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], announced that a plenum of the National Council will be convened to discuss the lines along which this organization, whose authority and political significance have been degraded, should restructure itself.

We are for a dialogue on the basis of equality, for absolute openness and looking for points of contact, joint action with all who are for the socialist path of development, a sweeping democratic restructuring, granting and safeguarding citizens' freedoms and rights and protecting their lawful interests.

Opposition Leader Simeonov Discusses Changes

AU0512100389 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 4 Dec 89 pp 178-179

[Interview with Petko Simeonov, spokesman of the Bulgarian opposition group "Perestroyka" and sociologist at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—"Everyone Was Afraid"]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr Simeonov, you and your opposition group "Perestroyka" have called for democratization and political pluralism for Bulgaria. Do you expect this of new party chief Petur Mladenov?

Simeonov: We are convinced that Mladenov really wants perestroyka and glasnost. He has ceased the persecution of people who have different political views, and most political prisoners are being released. Furthermore, he approved our demonstration of 18 November; thus, we have practically been recognized as the opposition.

DER SPIEGEL: How do you explain the fact that Mladenov suddenly changed his ways? After all, for years he had participated in the dogmatic policy of ousted party chief Todor Zhivkov.

Simeonov: Like everybody else, he was suppressed by Zhivkov. In the course of his political career, everyone in the Politburo and in the Central Committee was insulted, humiliated, and put under pressure by the Stalinist Zhivkov. Everyone was afraid of him, and everyone hated him.

DER SPIEGEL: Would the sudden change in Bulgaria have been possible without Moscow's approval?

Simeonov: No, certainly not. But Moscow did not decide whether it will succeed. One day before the meanwhile historic plenary session on 10 November almost all Central Committee members hid their families in the countryside—this shows how much they feared Zhivkov's revenge. However, many people from the opposition also disappeared from Sofia because no one knew how the battle would end.

DER SPIEGEL: Where did you hide?

Simeonov: I only hid my manuscripts, I wanted to be there at the historic hour.

DER SPIEGEL: This means you knew about the power struggle at the top?

Simeonov: A reception took place in the Soviet Embassy in Sofia 3 days before the plenary session. The Russians had also invited Stoyan Mikhaylov, a well-known rival

of Zhivkov, whom the party chief had fired from the Central Committee in 1988. Bulgarian officials who attended the reception were shocked about this, but everyone realized which direction things would take.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you think that the new party chief is Bulgaria's future strongman, or is he only a man for a transition period?

Simeonov: For the time being, we do not want to have any strongman. Apart from this: The circle of the current rulers agrees on a transitional ruler, like in the GDR, until the new chief can emerge from this group. However, Mladenov was the head of a putsch against Zhivkov, with the full risk of losing.

DER SPIEGEL: What do the people say about the new man?

Simeonov: As far as I can see, they feel liberated. Any attempt to overthrow Mladenov would certainly lead to extreme reactions among the population.

DER SPIEGEL: Why has the Bulgarian opposition woken up only now and has not moved for 40 years?

Simeonov: Our opposition was and is weak. In addition, it consists almost exclusively of intellectuals, and we lack the responsibility of the intellectuals toward society. The representatives of the intelligentsia can be bought easily. Those who did not permit themselves to be corrupted lived in a ghetto.

DER SPIEGEL: Most members of your association are Communists, even though disappointed ones. Do you expect them to want to work again in the apparatus now, after the change?

Simeonov: I do not think so. A total of 60 percent of all university graduates and skilled workers in Bulgaria are party members, but most of them have been party members only on paper for a long time. I suppose they would rather prefer to work in opposition groups.

DER SPIEGEL: Mladenov stated that the Communist Party has to keep its leading role in state and society in the future, too.

Simeonov: If the Communist Party wants to keep its leading role, it must be convincing and it must struggle for it. Its role must not be guaranteed by the Constitution or by laws.

DER SPIEGEL: Are there already initiatives for competing parties?

Simeonov: Officially we already have a second party, the National Agrarian Union. But this is a joke and consists of a bunch of people who jumped on the bandwagon of the Communist Party. Furthermore, there are citizens who are calling for a Social Democratic Party.

DER SPIEGEL: What will your group advocate?

Simeonov: The main things for us are freedom and democracy. Our past system, totalitarian socialism, is a political corpse. We were run over by a tank and squashed flat. Now we have the opportunity to implement the things for which we lacked courage for such a long time.

DER SPIEGEL: Are the majority of the people in favor of perestroyka?

Simeonov: According to a recent poll by the newspaper TRUD, about half of population are in favor of implementing perestroyka and glasnost.

DER SPIEGEL: Why not more?

Simeonov: Because the people are still afraid and because they are busy the whole day long trying to ensure their very existence. The Bulgarians spend more time standing in line than educating their children. In rural areas the shelves are empty: no bread, no eggs, no sausage. This does not leave any time for political philosophies.

DER SPIEGEL: Can the new leadership solve the economic problems?

Simeonov: Our foreign debts amount to $10 billion, in a country with only 9 million inhabitants. Almost all our profits from exports are used up to pay interest.

DER SPIEGEL: And how should this change?

Simeonov: This is what we are asking ourselves. There are no skilled managers and we have nothing like a market economy. Our industry has been clinically dead for 2 years; it was already completely outdated when it was established.

DER SPIEGEL: The facilities were delivered by the Soviet Union....

Simeonov: ...Our entire economy is the result of a passionate love affair between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. Eighty percent of our exports go to the socialist countries. In the 1970's the leadership tried to establish a reorientation toward the West, but Brezhnev rapped their fingers at that time.

DER SPIEGEL: The conflict between Zhivkov and Mladenov became acute because of the Turkish problem. The new party chief intends to change the discriminatory minority policy in Bulgaria. Will he permit the Turks to use their Muslim names and traditions again?

Simeonov: He will certainly solve this problem. But it should—if I may advise him—not necessarily be the first problem that he tackles.

DER SPIEGEL: Are the Bulgarians so anti-Turkish? At the big demonstration there were jeers for those speakers who advocated greater religious freedom for the Turkish minority.

Simeonov: At least this fanned emotions very much. However, this is connected more with the government in Ankara. It is not acceptable that the Turkish Government believes it has rights regarding the Bulgarian Muslims.

DER SPIEGEL: How long do you think it will take for a new, really democratic policy to gain ground in Bulgaria?

Simeonov: We do not have a "Western" Bulgaria; therefore, it will take longer than in the GDR. But I am absolutely sure that our speed will be faster than that in the Soviet Union.

Independent Journal Publisher Wins Case

AU0212171789 Sofia BTA in English 1349 GMT 2 Dec 89

["Publish-It-Yourself Acquitted"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—The publisher of the independent magazine GLAS (voice), Vladimir Levchev, has won the case against the Bulgarska Kniga I Pechat (Bulgarian Book and Print) Association.

The association levied a fine on Levchev and Edvin Sugarev for publishing unregistered magazines, although GLAS and MOST (bridge) have the status of manuscripts and were circulated free of charge.

The two men of letters lodged an appeal and yesterday the court reversed the fine levied on Levchev as being contrary to law, the ZEQMEDELSKO ZNAME newspaper announced. The trial of Edvin Sugarev has not been heard yet, but the verdict seems to be clear.

The poet Vladimir Levchev is the son of Lyubomir Levchev, who was leader of the Union of Bulgarian Writers for many years. Levchev Junior is a member of independent organizations and since the beginning of this year has been editing the GLAS magazine. This independent magazine for literature and publicism publishes mainly literary works written by young poets and fiction writers who are ingnored by official reviewers. Features of Ecoglasnost and an article by Zhelyu Zhelev, the author of "Fascism", a book "arrested" several years ago, have also appeared there. The translated literature in the magazine is by authors like Aleksandr Solzhenytsin and Ceslav Milos.

Mladenov Meets With Students, Professors

AU0212151589 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] An hour ago Comrade Petur Mladenov began a meeting in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia with students and teaching staff from higher educational establishments. The open, unconstrained discussion is devoted to the following subjects: the changes now under way in the country; the place of the Komsomol in these processes; the problem with the material and technical base for higher education in Bulgaria; the need for highly qualified teaching cadres; wide access to scientific information; the need for the active participation of the student youth in the discussion of the laws concerning higher education in Bulgaria; and other matters.

The meeting is continuing. We will give you more details about the meeting in later transmissions.

Further on Meeting

AU0212214389 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Today a meeting took place in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia between Comrade Petur Mladenov and students and teaching staff from higher educational establishments in the country. The open, unconstrained talks continued for more than 4 hours, which demonstrates the present political and social activity of the Bulgarian student body and its sense of responsibility, not only toward the problems of higher education, but also toward the processes of renewal in Bulgaria.

During the talks, or rather discussion, an exchange of views took place on the following: the real participation of the students on an equal-rights basis in the management, or more precisely self-management of the higher schools; on giving a new meaning to the academic plans and programs that should provide knowledge, instead of imposing it; on wide access to up-to-date scientific information; on social self-fulfillment after completion of higher education; and on the training of true professionals.

The question was also raised of bringing up to date the ideological disciplines, changing the ways in which they are taught, and also abandoning some of them as compulsory subjects.

Much was said about the new role of the Komsomol, and on the need for reforms in this organization. Expressing their support for the party's new policy line, the students sought not merely guarantees, but themselves suggested what sorts of guarantees there should be to prevent a repetition of past errors.

Many views were put forward to the effect that as a resource of our economy, culture, agriculture, and medicine, the students share one common interest, namely that higher education should be changed in such a way that the branches of scientific knowledge should provide real benefit to society. What is required for this purpose is unity, not confrontation, with the main goal being the nation's future.

In his speech, Comrade Petur Mladenov expressed his thanks for the support that Bulgarian students are giving to the processes of renewal in our society, and for their readiness to take an active part in these processes. He spoke concerning the need to democratize the higher educational establishments and on their independence, as well as concerning further improving the system of student training.

'Free Dialogue' Held

AU0212203589 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, today had a meeting with students and lecturers from all round the country.

The former party and state leader also held meetings with the Bulgarian students before their holiday December 8. The difference is in the nature of these events. Before, the students just listened to speeches, while now they conducted a free dialogue with Mr Petur Mladenov.

He thanked the students for their support to the new course in the development of the country, pointing out that one of the guarantees for Bulgaria's democratic development is the expression of different opinions. There is nothing to be afraid of in expressing different views and showing critical attitude. I am pleased with our human conversation and your serious and sincere questions, Mr Mladenov said.

During the meeting he took notes of the questions raised. The participants stated that autonomy should be granted to the establishments of higher education, a demand the party and state leader agreed with on behalf of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP.

Mladenov Answers Questions

AU0312183089 Sofia BTA in English 1645 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 3 (BTA)—Yesterday Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, had a meeting with students which lasted three hours and a half. Mr Mladenov thanked the students who, together with a vast majority of the people, give their support to the November course of the BCP.

It is the target of the sweeping restructuring to establish a modern democratic socialist Bulgaria, in which the principles of humanism shall dominate. This target requires the unity and the support of the whole Bulgarian people. It is very important to allow no going to extremes. The international situation is very favourable for the achievement of this target. We have been given a historical opportunity which should not be missed. We should not allow political or other feelings to destroy the unity of our people, because its unity is a guarantee for success, Mr Petur Mladenov said.

Answering questions about changes in the Constitution, he said that it will be brought in line with the political reform carried out in the country.

Mr Mladenov welcomed the increase of the political and social activity of the Bulgarian students. In his opinion many of the independent student organizations that have cropped up can become opponents to the Dimitrov Young Communist League and there is nothing wrong in it. Nobody forces the Young Communist League into giving up its positions, but if it is to hold them, the league should carry out a reform.

After speaking on a number of concrete problems of the establishments of higher education, he pointed out that their democratization and self-management should be greatly extended. "I am for granting absolute academic autonomy to all establishments of higher education. They should manage their own affairs and the state will finance them", Mr Mladenov said.

Dwelling on the problem of ideological subjects, Mr Petur Mladenov stated, "Obviously changes should be made. The students should get universal knowledge and nobody will be prevented from acquiring knowledge about scientific communism. But in the opinion of the Politburo it is not necessary to pass a compulsory final state certification examination in Marxism-Leninism."

The meeting Mr Mladenov had with students and lecturers from all round the country was not in the least like the former meetings the party and state leadership used to have with academic youth, it is pointed out in today's reports published by the press.

Although the tradition of such meetings on the eve of the student holiday December 8 the Day of Kliment Okhridski, the patron of Sofia University, is continued, it was also destroyed to a great extent, because both its form and content have now been changed, it is written in the papers.

Instead of the usual students' "holiday report" and statesmen's admonitions, now the representatives of the Young Communist League and the independent student associations had a dialogue with "an interlocutor who is trusted by the whole people". Most of the 50 speakers expressed support for the new political course and demanded that the reform be continued. The students declared their desire to take part in the restructuring. "The students will be with you, while you are with the restructuring", it was said at the meeting.

Many see the Young Communist League as part of the command-administrative system and they pointed out that it should give up its monopoly of being the sole representative of the Bulgarian youth.

Many of those who took the floor spoke about the feelings prevailing in student circles, which are now characterized by intensive political activity and real pluralism of views. It was underlined the necessity to recognize that the informal student associations should enjoy equal rights.

The most frequently raised questions were about students' self-management, academic autonomy, extending the access to information and contacts with world science, deideologization of the process of education.

Many political questions were also raised: changes in the Constitution, free elections, multiparty system, introducing limited-term office-holding, the National Assembly's really taking over the rule of the country, guarantees by the party and the state that there will be no relapse to the distortions of the past.

The students spoke about the ecological situation in the country, the low level of health care, the restrictions in choosing one's place of residence, the children who do not enjoy equal social position with others and the abolition of privileges.

Compatibility of Glasnost, Army Life Viewed

AU0712132289 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 1 Dec 89 pp 1,2

[Article by Lt Gen Ivan Bosev: "Does End Justify All Means?"]

[Excerpts] I talked with an acquaintance of mine about the soldiers of a remote garrison. We talked about the difficulties the young officers encounter in training and educating the soldiers, the inconveniences that accompany the everyday life of the families—wives without suitable work and children who need better schools and cultural entertainment—disappointments related to foodstuffs' supply, everyday life services, that leave a lot to be required, and so forth.

My friends were indignant about the fact that recently a young military journalist visited that garrison, witnessed the people's pain, and described it in the newspaper. My friend even said something else: "This urchin, who does not know the characteristics of the military service, allowed himself to slander the unit, without taking into consideration the fact that we nevertheless are an army!" How is it possible, he continued, to publicize the shortcomings of a military unit and talk about weaknesses in the style of the commanders and political workers? How can he reveal that not everything is being done there according to the charter, regulations, and programs? What will the public say? Are the journalists those who will take care of our problems? What is this? This is the job of other people—the commanders and the political workers....

In the final analysis, my indignant friend concluded, who profits from such an article except our enemies? The end is important, he said, not the means. There may be weaknesses in the methods of training and education, however, if the final goal is achieved, there is no need to search every corner and split hairs. What kind of commanders are we if we allow things like this to be publicly printed? [passage omitted]

Yes, we really are an army. However, we are not merely an army, but the Army of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the People's Republic of Bulgaria. We are a new kind of army that Bulgaria never knew in the past. This army has the most noble goal—to defend the working people's socialist achievements. Therefore, it must be combat-ready, disciplined, and civilized. However, is this new army indifferent toward the means of achieving its goals? Does the end justify all means? Do we need more evidence to understand that the Jesuit theory—the end justified the means—was at the basis of the practice that today we call socialism's distortions and tragedy during the time of the personality cult? Did not those who eliminated talents such as Bluecher, Tukhachevskiy, and others, and killed marshals, division commissars, generals, and colonels explain that this was done in the name of the revolution? And what about the people in our country, who raised their hand against Traycho Kostov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and for months and years mocked pure figures, who were endlessly loyal to the party and the people and proved this in mortal battles with the enemy? They also declared that all this was necessary in the name of the final goal, pointed out by the person, whose mustached image they used to carry in their pockets? [passage omitted]

The newspaper is not the organ or the means that will remove the weaknesses. However, its role in this process is not formal or negligent, and must not be underestimated. Under conditions of restructuring, our press—more than ever before—is called upon to be an instrument of renewal and serve the further implementation of the party program on democratizing society.... The revolutionary time of restructuring really gives new rights to our journalists. Under conditions of comprehensively democratizing our society, the mass media will have a major role in further developing and expanding glasnost. Those are the party requirements. Within the framework of protecting military secrets, without abusing this fundamentally important concept, we could and must utilize glasnost as a powerful incentive that will prompt the soldiers to actively participate in the life of their unit, publicizing the positive elements, and criticizing the negative phenomena. Glasnost is a very important lever of uncompromising struggle both against slander, defamation, and overlooking successes, and the struggle against backwardness, banality, oversimplification, dogmatism, abuse of power, flattery, and many other vices. From the position of glasnost and while protecting military secrets, we must not allow the suppression of innovations. On the contrary, we must give a green light to the promising factors, and this means, to promote wise, diligent, energetic, innovating, and intellectually rich leaders. [passage omitted]

Who could be afraid of democratism based on the initiative and activity of generals, officers, sergeants, and soldiers, the power of the party, Komsomol, trade union, and other public organizations, and the mature collective thought? Is not it clear that glasnost and democratism would strengthen the one-man-command principle, discipline, and ethics, and improve the units' combat readiness and ability? Precisely this is the supreme duty of every soldiers, because, after all, we still are an army.

Mladenov Speaks to Agricultural Workers

AU0512152989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Dec 89 pp 1, 2

[Valeri Zapryanov report: "Everything is Within Your Hands" on Petur Mladenov meeting with agricultural workers in Chepintsi village, Novi Izkur Municipality, on 30 December]

[Excerpts] The cow-breeding farm of the Cooperative Agricultural Complex in Chepintsi Village, Novi Izkur Municipality, totally differs from our well-known elite and model agricultural establishments, where visitors are usually shown around. Apart from some newly bought white aprons, Comrade Petur Mladenov and those accompanying him saw everything "as it really is," such as mud, wet sheets hanging on the clotheslines, used and outdated equipment. Most realistic, however, were the statements of the people—frank, even somewhat aggressive, inspired by bitter experience. They described how the cattle breeding branch in which they are engaged was slowly, persistently, and painfully deteriorating as a result of innumerable reorganizations, while the shelves in the food stores usually remain empty, instead of being filled with all varieties of the promised goods. [passage omitted]

Responding to the workers' statements, Comrade Petur Mladenov expressed his gratitude for the unanimous support for the party's new policy.

You are right. Bulgaria is facing complicated problems, he said. Such problems exist in all areas—in the economic sector, in political relations, and in the political system, but also in the spheres of science and culture. I am grateful that the people as a whole, in their overwhelming majority, support the party line. Nothing could be achieved in the opposite case. We are receiving letters and telegrams in which people pledge that they will support the party policy with their efforts and personal deeds. I think that our people's unity is of essential importance for our success. Let us not discriminate and say that the work of the manual worker, the peasant, or that of the intellectual is the more important. It is impossible to achieve any progress unless we combine the efforts of the whole community and preserve our unity, unless we combine the joint actions of our entire people.

The general secretary spoke on the forthcoming plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party and on the problems it is expected to examine. We should start with agriculture, he said. If there is a sphere where prompt results can be achieved, with the assistance of the state and of appropriate capital investments, of course, then it is certainly the agricultural sector. This is what we intend to do—treat agriculture on a priority basis.

Comrade Petur Mladenov also described the other future priority trends in our economic sphere, such as food industry, light industry, and tourism.

It will be difficult for us to succeed, Comrade Petur Mladenov pointed out in closing his statement. We should not have any illusions that everything will smoothly proceed as of next year, that all problems shall be resolved. They are not expected to be resolved. We are facing too many problems that have accumulated. It will certainly be difficult, but I firmly believe that there is a way out of this situation, and that this way out is within the hands of the people. It is also within my hands, within your hands, within the hands of your families and friends. Success depends upon all of us. We are capable of and we are obliged to do everything within our efforts, so that we may live better, so that we may become more prosperous, so that our state may become more civilized, and much more highly developed than it is today. I have great confidence in the Bulgarian people and I am convinced that they are facing a bright and happy future.

Expert on Foreign Debt Burden, 'Economic Crisis'

AU0112175889 Sofia BTA in English 1342 GMT 1 Dec 89

["Economic Legacy Anatomized"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—Between one-third and one-half of Bulgaria's earnings from exports to non-socialist countries go to service the country's convertible currency debt, writes Mr Dimitur Ivanov, an expert of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics, in an article contributed to the TRUD daily. The annual debt service payment amounts to nearly 1,000 million dollars, which is 40 per cent more than the value of Bulgarian exports to the industrialized West.

In his critical analysis of the economic legacy, the author paints a picture of a persistent economic crisis. Its earliest symptoms made themselves felt, in his view, back in 1977, when the economic growth rates started to decline and when the social, economic and political costs of development started to rise. The crisis has gained particular momentum since the end of 1984.

Characteristically, people have become estranged from labour, and there has been a discrepancy between official declarations and the actual state of affairs, the national currency has weakened and inflation has been running high, and the foreign debt in hard currency has increased. In 1990 this debt is expected to devour the entire national income growth several times over. Moreover, the economy will need at least 500 million dollars of fresh investment over the coming three or four years to offset the loss of momentum.

Analysing the crisis in the public sector, the author emphasizes that politicians should not promise things they can't deliver such as to stop and to reverse the downward slide. "It is much better to face up to the facts the way they are and the way people have long seen them," the Bulgarian expert writes in conclusion.

System of Labor Insurance Introduced

AU0112180089 Sofia BTA in English
1338 GMT 1 Dec 89

["Good News for the Sacked"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 1 (BTA)—Some 120 labour bureaus will be established in various villages, setting the beginning of a uniform modern system for labour insurance in this country. This is one of the initiatives included in a special decree of the Bulgarian Government which anticipates the possible problems concerning the redundant work force, a result of the restructuring in the economy and cuts of the redundant administrative posts.

This is an objective healing process for our economy, but its unorganized flow can bring to serious negative phenomena, said at a press conference in this capital city Mr Filip Bokov, the government spokesman. He indicated that the decree envisages a system of measures to provide the right of labour, including cares for requalification and provision of work, regulation and balance of the search and offering of work force according to quantity, professions and skills.

For the first time in the Bulgarian labour legislation financial compensations and social aid are fully settled. The redundant workers and employees who have temporarily remained jobless or have been included in the requalification courses will receive compensations to the amount of their full salary during the first three months, while in the next three ones they will get 90, 80 and 70 per cent of it respectively, after which for another three-months period they can count on an aid equal to the minimal salary. By the tenth month they are expected to be employed.

OTECHESTVEN FRONT Views Pluralism

AU0112180189 Sofia BTA in English
1532 GMT 1 Dec 89

["Fatherland Front Supports Pluralism"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—The aberrations and faults in the work of the Fatherland Front and the organization's role and place in the renewal processes in Bulgaria is examined in an editorial by the OTECHESTVEN FRONT daily.

The paper stresses the need for that largest public and political organization in Bulgaria to retain its position as the broadest base uniting the efforts of various public organizations and movements of the citizens, giving genuine scope to pluralism of opinions and a platform to the plurality of interests, aspirations, ideas and activities of the different social strata, groups and public formations.

The Fatherland Front has no cause to stay aside and to close its doors to anyone, even to the informal groups which want to work for restructuring in line with the people's socialist choice and respecting the established constitutional order, the article says.

Being an exponent of the population's will, the organization cannot agree to extreme and sometimes unsocialist demands and will resist them politically, the paper writes. "At the same time, we are convinced that in a number of cases the extreme views are not the result of really anti-socialist convictions but give vent to a social strain, to a reaction which has been building up for years against the negative phenomena in a number of spheres and activities," the editorial says.

OTECHESTVEN FRONT observes that the article reflects the views and the assessments made at the National Council of the Fatherland Front after the November plenum of the CC of the BCP.

Sofia University Rector Favors Reforms

AU0112190189 Sofia BTA in English
1744 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—Today the rector of the "Kliment Okhridski" University of Sofia declared himself to be for sweeping changes in all the activity of this higher education establishment and for granting it autonomy.

Speaking at a meeting with journalists, Academician Nikola Popov made it clear that the academic leadership will insist on the National Assembly's determining the status of the university and guaranteeing its budget independence.

The rector also dwelt on matters related to the constantly growing students' activity. He does not see any cause for alarm in it and declared himself to be for a constructive dialogue through which a lot of problems can be settled by common efforts.

A representative of the Dimitrov Young Communist League University Organization who also took part in the meeting spoke in favor of the interaction with the informal student groups, whose demands are becoming increasingly political.

The deideologization of the educative process was commented on. The opinion was expressed that there are no deideologized sciences, but that it is possible to make changes in the seminars in ideological subjects, therefore such changes should be made, that it is necessary to update them and that the idea is to delete them from the state final certification examinations.

The present meeting was held on the occasion of the week of Kliment devoted to the patronal festival of the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia (December 1-8), during which a number of scientific and cultural events will be held, including such with foreign participation.

New Charity Fund Established in Sofia

AU0112205989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] A Charity [Milosurdie] Fund attached to the Bulgarian Red Cross Central Committee was established in Sofia today.

Doctor Kiril Ignatov was elected chairman of the fund. The fund will provide means for assisting victims of natural disasters, individual citizens, and social institutions.

The Social Council of the fund will grant resources on the basis of petitions submitted by applicants, after it has investigated their material situation. The means shall be collected from the voluntary contributions of individual citizens, the public, and economic organizations. Charity concerts and exhibitions are expected to be organized.

Collection boxes shall be placed at border checkpoints, in railroad stations, and other public places. Special stamps will also be issued and put on sale amounting to a value of 50 stotinki, 1, 2, and 5 leva.

New BTA Press Service Established

AU0112213689 Sofia BTA in English 1948 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—A Press Service COURIER has been founded with the Bulgarian News Agency. It will circulate documents of public organizations, creative unions, informal societies.

The press service will issue a bulletin which will inform the subscribers of the documents presented to it—statements, resolutions, programs, declarations, etc. The COURIER Press Service guarantees equitable attitude to the materials offered to it. The service will circulate authentic texts and changes will be permitted only with the agreement of the authors, who bear the entire responsibility about the content. When using and publishing these documents it is obligatory to mention the source COURIER Press Service.

The following requirements are set to the materials which the service will distribute: Their content should not infringe and contradict the Constitution and the laws of Bulgaria; they should not harm the international interests of this country, as well as the agreements signed by it; should not break public morality and the rights of the citizens; should be addressed to the public in this country.

The documents offered for distribution should not be addressed to small circle or limited social group; should not express the opinion of or about private persons; should not reflect discussions in the framework of a given public structure; should not be informations about past or forthcoming events.

Their length should not be more than 100 lines.

Results of Public Opinion Poll Results Cited

AU0412170789

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 30 November on page 3 carries a 1,200-word report entitled "Public Opinion on the Decisions of the Central Committee Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] of 22 November."

The report points out that the public opinion poll "marks a new phase in the dynamic development of the situation in the country after the BCP Central Committee November plenums."

A total of 405 persons have been polled and "their assessment of the Politburo decisions is not only positive, but also shows a great deal of unanimity."

Of the polled citizens, 82.7 percent support the establishment of a party-state committee for reviewing and resolving pressing issues related to distortions in public and economic life; 88.9 percent support the decision to transfer the official residences to the needs of tourism, children, and labor and student collectives; 87 percent support the transfer of foreign currency received from international hunting tourism to the needs of health protection; 86.9 percent support the proposal to close down the "Banner of Peace" Center; 64 percent support the proposal to review the status of the hunting grounds; 47.7 percent support the merging of three BCP Central Committee Departments into one "Ideological Policy" Department; and 63.5 percent support the cadre changes in the BCP Central Committee "Organizational" and "Cultural" Departments.

The report also cites proposals made by the citizens polled. The most important among them are: "To ensure the access of all citizens who have information and want to take a stand on the issue" to the meetings of the party-state commission that will investigate the distortions in Bulgarian public and economic life; "to publish a list of all official residences in Bulgaria;" "to set up a special commission to strictly investigate the methods and means used in constructing the country houses of the cadres of the higher and middle echelons;" and "to appoint a commission in all BCP oblast committees that will investigate distortions allowed in public and economic life in the specific oblasts and municipalities."

Decrees on Government Changes Published

AU0412172089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Nov 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Extracts From DURZHAVEN VESTNIK"]

[Text] DURZHAVEN VESTNIK No. 92 carries the following decrees:

—Decree of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria No. 2604 of 22 November 1989 on eliminating and creating committees at the Council of Ministers.

The Committee on Environmental Protection, the Committee on Informatics, and the Committee on Territorial and Settlement Structure are abolished. A Committee on Power Supply, a Committee on Communication and Informatics, and a Central Statistics Administration with the rank of committee are established.

—Decree of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria No. 2605 of 22 November 1989, according to which Nikolay Dyulgerov is relieved of his post as chairman of the Committee on Environmental Protection, Rashko Angelov from the post of chairman of the Committee on Informatics, and Stefan Staynov from the post of chairman of the Committee on Territorial and Settlement Structure. Nikola Todoriev is appointed chairman of the Committee on Power Supply, Atanas Popov is appointed chairman of the Committee on Communications and Informatics, and Stanoy Tasev is appointed chairman of the Central Statistics Administration.

—Instruction of the Council of Ministers No. 16 of 21 November 1989 on abolishing associations. The following associations are abolished on the basis of this instruction: "Communications," "Construction and Construction Industry," "Industry for Man," "Forests and Forestry," "National Agroindustrial Union," "Electronics," "Power Supply," "Biotechnological and Chemical Industry," "Heavy Machine Building," "Transportation, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment," and "Metallurgy and Mineral Resources."

Blagoevgrad Students Support New Course

AU0512150389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Nov 89 p 2

[BTA report: "Student Support"]

[Text] Blagoevgrad, 29 November (BTA)—Today the students, lecturers, and employees of the Pedagogy Higher Institute in the city held a 2-hour meeting in support of the political course toward profound democratic transformations implemented by the party. The meeting was held at the initiative of the Komsomol organization. The participants expressed their faith and confidence that the renewal processes that have begun will strengthen, and will encompass all spheres, including the higher education system.

Along with the problems that today move every Bulgarian citizen, the 18 speakers who took the floor sharply posed many questions about administrative and bureaucratic obstacles, which hinder the democratization of life and mutual relations in the higher education establishments. A demand was voiced to quickly prepare, discuss, and adopt a new democratic law on higher education. Many of the speakers called for quickly updating the study programs and contents, as well as eliminating the obligatory study and examinations of certain political subjects.

The young people expressed readiness to support the course of real restructuring with real deeds. This was reflected in the declaration that was adopted at the meeting, addressed to the National Assembly, the Central Committee, and the Committee on Science and Higher Education.

Government Decisions Affecting Youth Noted

AU3011153389 Sofia BTA in English 1319 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—Today's NARODNA MLADEZH informs that in defense of youth interests the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Young Communists League (DKMS) has introduced in the Council of Ministers a package of documents referring to social issues. The government has adopted decisions on a number of those issues.

For the first time it creates a public fund for stimulation of young scholars in the sphere of science and technology. The funds will be collected from endowments and wills of physical and juridical persons, from overfulfillment of income, from economies of expenses and the profits of the companies. The incomings in the fund will be free of taxes and customs.

The government gives the profits tax for 1990 of the companies property of the DKMS for their use. These funds will be used for support of youth initiatives.

The Council of Ministers has adopted a decree of the state council for provision of houses for young and newly wed families. Their fund is increased to 35 per cent.

The Council of Ministers has adopted regulations for the credit activity of the State Savings Bank. The loans for building of houses for young and newly wed families is increased to 25,000 leva (from 15,000 before) with a term of payment of 40 years. The loans for current needs become 10,000 leva (from 5,000). The granting of a loan covering the entire value of the house at a 30 years term of payment is also envisaged. Under certain conditions part of the loans granted for house construction will be remitted.

For the first time the financial practice of this country envisages the granting of credit for specialists who have graduated higher institutes. The credit will be 3,000 leva with a payment term of 10 years. The State Bank will also grant loans up to 20,000 leva, at 2 per cent interest, for the construction of economic buildings in the villages, for agricultural activity and others, to families and young people under 30 years of age.

Repeal of Article 273 of Penal Code Viewed

AU0212145489 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 29 Nov 89 p 2

[Violeta Zhelyazkova article: "General 'Fear' Is Demoted to the Rank of 'Colonel'"]

[Text] The repeal of Article 273 of the Penal Code is a democratic measure that should be further pursued.

Article 273 of the Penal Code was repealed a few days ago and amnesty has been introduced for crimes against it. The defendants in question were acquitted, while those who were already sentenced for such crimes were exempt from penalty and from the consequences of their conviction. Supreme Court cases dealing with such matters have been suspended.

At this point I would like to digress in order to clarify a small misunderstanding. In the press version the Amnesty Law reads as follows:

"Property....confiscated....on the basis of valid sentences....shall not be restored."

As a matter of fact, Article 273 never envisioned any confiscation at all! The text reads as follows:

"Any person who consciously spreads untrue statements that are likely to inspire lack of confidence in the government and in its activities, or tries to stir up unrest in society, or who commits any other act of which he is aware that it might entail similar consequences, is subject to punishment involving imprisonment up to 2 years, or corrective labor, the court being entitled to decide upon the defendant's forced resettlement."

The word "confiscation" does not occur in the text. Perhaps restructuring in the legislative system should begin by a careful reading of texts subject to repeal, or to amendment. In the opposite case, even the best intentions may evoke irony instead of enthusiasm....

Punctilious people will certainly say that this lack of precision confirms the disregard of the law that even the November plenums have not succeeded in overcoming. Such disregard for the law went so far that it was even possible to repeal a code and even the Constitution on the basis of a decree in our country....

(OTECHESTVEN FRONT editorial note: The mistake was corrected in the Friday issue of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK. Better late than never.)

However, we are not such sticklers. For this reason we should disregard the petty misunderstandings of today and face the gross misunderstandings of tomorrow, in the hope of helping to prevent them. First of all, however, we would like to tell you about some victims affected by Article 273—only by describing their cases, without mentioning their names.

A young engineer (the son of a writer who is well-known for his antifascist books) made no secret of his admiration for certain virtues of the German nation, such as order, discipline, and technical genius....He sometimes even listened to German military music. He looked at German magazines with pictures of German aircraft, being interested in their technical details. He was convicted for "glorifying the German nation, namely fascism."

An industrious worker from the town of Troyan, "of progressive origins" once burst out in anger and used a somewhat unquotable expression directed against Todor Zhivkov. He was accused of insulting the head of state and of undermining the prestige of [several words illegible, quality of print very poor] as a result of which he was actually sentenced to imprisonment.

A worker from a Mikhaylovgrad plant put up some posters bearing his signature on the plant premises, on which he had inscribed the following slogans: "Enough political falsification with economic exploitation and party schemes!" "Socialist society is a beehive in which [several words illegible]. "Communism is a Theory That Is Down, but Not Out...." On the instructions of the plant manager, the slogans were erased, but new ones appeared the following day. The situation became intolerable when the worker in question called the plant manager "a good for nothing" and the plant management "a party Mafia." His behavior was qualified as an "incorrect and [word illegible] approach to the established public order."

We should admit for the sake of truth that not too many people were convicted on the basis of Article 273 of the Penal Code. As many as 26 people were sentenced in 1987, 16 in 1988, and 15 in 1989. A diminishing trend was even observed recently that is in contradiction with the growing social tensions, with the increasing rate of economic and Common Law crimes. This is how Penyu Platikanov, head of the Investigation Department of the Chief Prosecutor's Office, explains the situation:

"Article 273 of the Penal Code protected the authoritarian regime and oppressed the people's minds. They did not even dare to express their opinions on subjects related to our country, being afraid of possible penal consequences. This text contradicted the basic principles of international law. We—the investigators and prosecutors—were aware of this anachronism and tried to avoid having recourse to it. We applied it only in cases of really malicious slander."

This is what we should call commendable restraint. Nevertheless.... even if there had been only one defendant convicted on the basis of Article 273, this would still cast a shadow on our judicial system. It is true that this was the spirit of the time, when "spies and evil-intentioned people" used to peek behind every corner. General crime prevention was all-powerful. It is worth sacrificing one in order to [several words illegible]. Either because of fear, or because they were sincerely convinced they were serving state security interests, none of the investigating judges or prosecutors ever decided to withdraw from the all-too-transparent legal

cases involving violation of Article 273. The names of these judges and prosectors will be remembered as the names of people who have pulled someone's else's burning chestnuts out of the fire.

The repeal of Article 273 is a democratic measure. Nevertheless, behind the apparent democratic spirit of this act, legal experts detect an anti-democratic spirit that is not visible with the naked eye. Let us hear what Reni Tsanova, the well-known lawyer, has to say on the subject:

"So far, my colleagues and I considered Article 273 as a means of salvation. This is so, because 2 years of imprisonment was the maximum penalty under this article, while other paragraphs of a similar nature threaten the citizen with 5, 10, and even more years of imprisonment."

Article 273 has been repealed. Article 108, from which Reni Tsanova and her colleagues are expected to rescue their clients, remains valid. I think that this article should also be clarified, since the guarantees against possible arbitrary actions based on it should be more clearly defined. I am far from claiming that our People's Republic does not need any protection at all; nevertheless, this protection should not oppress the rights and freedoms of the ordinary citizen. This particularly applies to our time, considering that the somewhat stagnating political consciousness in every one of us has lately been revived and with a view to the fact that the fate of restructuring depends upon this awakening. Let us not threaten this revived political consciouesness with the Damocles sword of "counterrevolutionary intentions"—an outdated form of expression that rather belongs to the style and terminology of a Vishinskiy. It would be better to learn, how states that are more law-governed than ours protect their state, and their country's law and order. They certainly do not do so by sentencing people to several years of imprisonment for "slanderous statements".... Or, did not Catherine II, as early as at her time, declare the principle that words should not be subject to punishment. With legal texts such as Article 108, and some other articles of the Penal Code, we continue to serve "General Fear." By repealing Article 273, however, we did not demote it to the low rank of corporal, but only to the rank of "colonel."

Role of Communist Party in Restructuring Viewed

AU2811113589 Sofia BTA in English
0945 GMT 28 Nov 89

["On the Restructuring in the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, November 28 (BTA)—At present the most important thing is not to pass in silence the fact that the prestige of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] is dropping down. The inevitable revelations of the corruption and the other deformations will undermine its prestige even more, writes in an extensive article in today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO Prof. Krustyu Petkov, director of the Institute for Sociology with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

In the article headed "Repentance? What Then...", he stresses that in the present situation in Bulgaria neither the repentance nor the inside-party reform will be enough for a real restructuring. The question about the legitimacy of power remains open. The people must have democratic mechanisms granting permanent expression of its attitude to the system of power, participation in its exercising, democratic and efficient control.

Bulgaria must search for her unique road for a way out of the crisis, writes Prof. Petkov. He recalls that for less than 10 days the events in Bulgaria have neared those point which Poland and Hungary reached after years of sharp sociopolitical clashes. Some of the speeches in the National Assembly and some statements broadcasted on television requested repentance from the Bulgarian Communist Party—not only for the offenses of separate of its leaders but for the mistakes which it has made namely as a whole party [sentence as received].

At the same time the author notes that even the first expressions of real glasnost in Bulgaria have shown that the restructuring is understood not as a change of personalities and governing groups but as a dismantling of the so- called administrative-command system.

The professor recalls that the model of the Bulgarian society has been born in the image of the Communist Party. This, points out he, is the historical drama of the party, of socialism. Preserving its classical model, created for underground existence and activity, the party still remains an organization of a semi-open character. That is why without an overall reconsidering of the "classical" model of the party socialism cannot have a historical fate different from that at present in Bulgaria and in the other East European countries. It is of importance who heads the party but the reform will be limited if it remains a party of "iron discipline", if its organizational model is not changed.

Prof Petkov notes that the principle of democratic centralism, when the decisions of the majority are obligatory for the minority, seems democratic but in this way every initiative is blocked, each new thought which has been born outside the center, outside the "top", in the periphery by the rank and file dies. That brings to "splits" and "dissidence". The discipline of the "democratic"-centralized type deprives the party of the mechanisms of normal reproduction, dooms it to degeneration.

The neglecting of the question of democracy in the party has given birth, writes the professor, not only to deviations and deformations but paradoxes as well, even caricatures of the home political life.

He reminds that in the last years informal associations have been opposing to the suppression of the political freedom in Bulgaria. But the last deed of the former regime was its attempt to turn life into a kind of absurd

theater. The author recalls the repressions brutally dispersing the informal groups and establishing shock political detachments.

In a similar way parallel structures have been opposed to the state monopoly in the economy.

Prof. Petkov analyses different variants of the restructuring the Hungarian, the Soviet and a third one which, in his opinion, is maybe the most suitable for Bulgaria. If now in the country there formally is a two-party system (the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party), why should it not become a reality, he writes. The true two-party system is not identical with a multiparty one, but it would provide the ruling party with a loyal and strong opposition.

The author underlines that the BCP should part with its model which dates back to the end of the nineteenth century. It should not be any more a party which relies on its constitutionally guaranteed leading position, but should become a party put under conditions which will make it necessary for it to constantly prove and defend in deed its position of a leader. It should not press its role of a political vanguard and teacher upon the people, but should be distinguished only for being an organized force which has devoted itself to serving the interests of its social basis. The BCP should by all means develop democratic mechanisms of control from bottom to top, should be based on the principles of electivity, limited-term office-holding and changeability of the leadership and different trends should have the right to exist within it, Prof. Krustyu Petkov points out.

Army Position Toward Restructuring Explained

AU0212133289 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 27 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Article by Lt Gen Ivan Stefanov, first deputy chairman of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army: "Restructuring and Soldiers' Political Position"]

[Excerpts] The decisions of the November plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] were greeted with total approval by the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army, who clearly and firmly supported the political course aimed at democratizing society and renewing socialism in a revolutionary manner.

This period of change poses new tasks and requirements for political work in the army. What are the present tasks of political work? How is it to be conducted? What should be stressed in work with the people?

The Bulgarian People's Army is a child of the 9 September Socialist Revolution. It grew up as the modern army of the people, under the fraternal care of the people and the BCP. Therefore, political work must assert the fact that the further development of our Army as a modern socialist army, capable of defending the interests of the people, must take place under the leadership of the party. [passage omitted]

Democratization and glasnost are acquiring even-more topical importance. The refreshing breeze of renewal in the country also penetrates the Army. In their activity the commanders rely even more on the collective organs and public organizations. Criticism of the weaknesses and unresolved problems intensifies. Our Army is opening ever more broadly to the people. The development of democratization and glasnost is being implemented in accordance with the requirements of the military regulations and the principle of one-man command. Political work now faces the task of profoundly, specifically, and analytically revealing the essence, content, and scope of democratization under Army conditions, on the one hand, and the development of democratization in the country, on the other, so that the soldiers are informed about the issue and can develop a correct attitude toward it. Under the new conditions, we shall more and more frequently encounter opinions and positions that differ from our official propaganda and ideas of informal groups, clubs, and organizations expressed in the mass media. Adherents to these ideas and members of those organizations will also join the Army. What must our position be? Political work is called upon to distinguish between real democratization and glasnost, conditions for whose development were created by the decisions of the BCP Central Committee November plenums, on the one hand, and demands for democratization and glasnost on the part of some members of the informal groups and clubs, on the other.

We must clarify to the youth who enter the barracks of the People's Army in order to fulfill their military duty that informal groups and clubs cannot be created in the Army, because this will weaken the Army's combat ability and readiness. The Army is an integral part of society. However, it also is a special structure, which exists and functions according to its own specific laws. The regulations of the Bulgarian People's Army and its fundamental principle of one-man command do not allow soldiers' membership in informal associations, groups, and organizations. Throughout the world, and not only in Bulgaria, military personnel cannot be members of any organizations, including even trade unions.

We support and will continue to support glasnost, which guarantees the real revolutionary renewal of socialism. At the same time we must openly declare that the Bulgarian soldiers clearly and categorically distance themselves from all those who oppose socialism under the banner of democracy and glasnost. The soldiers will defend this position not only in the military collectives, but also in society. The Bulgarian People's Army, as the armed force of the state, is called upon to serve the people, defend their interests, and facilitate the revolutionary socialist renewal of society. The Bulgarian soldiers firmly support the new political course of the party and work strenuously and diligently to insert quality elements in military construction, and guarantee our

people conditions of peaceful and creative labor, as well as social stability, that is necessary for developing real restructuring in our country. [passage omitted]

Our political work now must be aggressive. It must open a decisive attack against all those who oppose the leading role of the party and deny socialism, and against all kinds of reactionary and extremist ideas. It must be directed toward defending socialism and its revolutionary renewal.

The main factor now is to use active and aggressive political work in order to help every soldier to work out a clear and fundamentally active position toward the new BCP course, a position of decisive and firm defense of the process of revolutionary renewal, whose beginning was marked by the BCP Central Committee November plenums. This position must be defended not merely by words, but by deeds, systematic and strenuous work, and selfless and steady toil for increasing the quality elements in the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Yovchev Holds Talks on Importing Soviet Cars

AU0612194889 Sofia BTA in English 1447 GMT 6 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 6 (BTA)—Next year Bulgaria will import Soviet motor cars in exchange for completing units.

These reciprocal deliveries were discussed at today's session of talks between Mr Mincho Yovchev, Politburo member of CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of industry and technology, and Mr Vladimir Katannikov, general manager of the Volga Motor Works (VAZ) in the town of Togliatti.

The opportunities for wider participation of Bulgaria in the joint production of VAZ motor cars and for the promotion of cooperation in the development of machine tool equipment, robots and control systems were high on the agenda.

Under a contract signed today, in 1990 Bulgaria will import [figure indistinct] Ladas, including some of the latest 2108 model.

Atanasov Receives Belgrade Mayor 1 Dec

AU0112165189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] On 1 December Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of Belgrade City Assembly.

Comrade Georgi Atanasov expressed support for the efforts of Sofia and Belgrade to develop cooperation in the economic, municipal, and cultural areas. He pointed out that the correct direction of the two cities' unity of action strengthens cooperation among the Balkan capitals.

The meeting was attended by Stefan Ninov, chairman of the Executive Committee of Sofia's People's Council.

Atanasov Receives Vietnam Committee Chairman

AU0112212089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers received Nguyen Icam, chairman of the Vietnam's State Control Committee, who is visiting Bulgaria.

The guest was briefed on the decisions of the Bulgarian Communist Party November plenums and on the new political line of the country that was adopted by the plenums.

Industrial Protocol Signed With France

AU0112213189 Sofia BTA in English 1901 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—Bulgaria and France today signed a protocol on cooperation in the field of industrial property. The two countries will exchange patent information. The building of a telecommunication connection between the Institute of Inventions and Rationalizations and the French Institute for Industrial Property will help provide enterpises with patent information when they determine their economic strategy. It is envisioned to study the possibilities for cooperated activity of the two institutions encouraging the exchange of practical experience between Bulgarian and French specialists.

The document creates the prerequisites for the extension of business contacts in carrying out patent studies.

Human Rights Federation President Visits

AU0112213089 Sofia BTA in English 1907 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—Mr Daniel Jacoby, president of the International Federation of Human Rights, assessed the reforms aimed at democratization of social life in Bulgaria as very positive.

Two representatives of the International Federation of Human Rights who are paying a visit here at the invitation of the Independent Society For the Protection of Human Rights today had meetings with Mr Filip Bokov, government spokesman, and Mr Vladimir Kalaydzhiev, secretary of the Parliamentary Committee for the Protection of Public Interests and Citizens' Rights.

In reply to the interest shown in the processes of innovation in Bulgaria since November 10, the guests were familiarized with the bills which are being worked out for the purpose of bringing the Bulgarian legislation into line with international obligations the country has assumed by the end of 1989 and the beginning of 1990.

The following bills will be presented for adoption to the National Assembly: Amendment of the Penal Code; a

bill of public non-profit-making societies; a meetings and demonstrations bill; amendment and complement to the criminal jurisdiction and procedure code; a bill of ecclesiastical matters; a press bill, etc.

The two meetings were attended by Mr Rumen Vodenicharov, chairman of the Independent Society for the Protection of Human Rights, and Mr Konstantin Trenchev, chairman of the Independent Trade Union Podkrepa (Support).

Mladenov Greets SFRY Leaders on National Day

AU0412114789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Nov 89 p 6

[Text] Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and State Council chairman, has sent messages to Milan Pancevski, president of the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], and Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, on the SFRY's National Day.

The messages address wishes to the SFRY Communists, the LCY leadership, and all SFRY working people for success in conducting the processes of renewal in all spheres of the SFRY's socialist society.

The messages express the conviction that the enhancing of relations between the BCP and the LCY during the time of restructuring socialism acquires even greater importance in developing good-neighborly relations and comprehensive cooperation between our countries and peoples, in the spirit of socialist choice and in the name of strengthening European peace.

Confidence is expressed that the upward development of relations and the expansion of mutually beneficial cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the SFRY correspond to the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two neighboring socialist countries, and represent a specific contribution to activating the multisided Balkan process and strengthening peace and understanding in Europe and the world.

Deputy Premier on Need for Political Activity

LD1112185889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Reportage from the Prague Sport Hall by correspondent Stanislav Kuzel]

[Text] The Sport Hall in Prague, filled almost to capacity, welcomed with stormy applause Valtr Komarek, first deputy federal premier, and Petr Miller, minister of labor and social affairs, at a meeting organized by the strike committee of the CKD Elektrotechnika works, students of the School of Economics and the Faculty of General Medicine of Charles University.

Valtr Komarek thanked the audience for the warm reception accorded to him and to Petr Miller and declared that those who think that because there is a new government the political scene will be quiet like the previous period are mistaken. The political activity of broad stratas of people and of each individual is important for the government. Great and fundamental changes face our country but there is no need to be apprehensive. The government is here in order to discipline the state apparatus and to lead this state in a civilized manner to free elections. And there is not only a new government but new forms of governing, Valtr Komarek stressed in his opening speech.

He went on to state that the times have a new philosophy and a new character. For 50 years Czechoslovakia has been outside the mainstream of civilization and today we have to search for a new place in Europe.

Deputy Premier Carnogursky Discusses New Tasks

AU1112222589 Vienna Television Service in German 2100 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky by ORF correspondent Otto Hoermann; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Carnogursky] I am familiarizing myself with the apparatus at the moment. I know that apart from the character of the apparatus, it includes many highly qualified people, and I will rely on these highly qualified persons.

[Hoermann] The CSSR is now a country that has an Interior Ministry but no interior minister. The spheres of responsibility have been split. You have been assigned a considerable portion of the tasks. How will things develop in connection with the Interior Ministry in the future, or is this only a transitional situation until the elections?

[Carnogursky] I would say it is a transitional situation but not until the elections. An interior minister could and will probably be appointed earlier, before the elections. This is a transitional situation in which the prime minister, Mr Komarek, and I have assumed the leadership of the Interior Ministry.

[Hoermann] Could this mean that this solution has been adopted to make the formation of a government possible in its current form? Would it have taken longer to form a government if the search for a specific interior minister had been continued?

[Carnogursky] In any case, the adoption of this model for the leadership of the Interior Ministry has made possible and facilitated the formation of the government.

[Hoermann] You used to be a Catholic activist, and as a lawyer you defended Catholic activists that came in conflict with the law. There have been reports that the state organization for priests, Pacem in Terris, is to be dissolved. How do you see future relations between the state and the church, particularly the Catholic Church? Will relations change, or do you think that the situation will become so normal that special relations will no longer be necessary?

[Carnogursky] I hope that the situation will become so normal that no special authority will be required in the future.

[Hoermann] Are you, with your background as a Catholic, as a Slovak, thinking of founding a party? Will there be a Christian party that you will lead?

[Carnogursky] Such a party does not yet exist. However, maybe the first steps toward founding such a party have already been taken. Some friends of mine and I have called for the foundation of clubs based on Christian democratic principles, and the representatives of these clubs will decide in a free and democratic manner whether these clubs will be transformed into a Christian democratic party. If such a party is founded, I would be at its disposal.

Urbanek on CPCZ Annulment of New Draft Rules

LD1012214789 Prague CTK in English 2010 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 10 (CTK)—"We adhere to the democratic concept of socialism which ensues from the best traditions and experiences of our nations", general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Karel Urbanek told participants in an extraordinary conference of the city committee of the Communist Party in Brno, South Moravia, today.

"We support the new political system based on parliamentary democracy and broad self-administration. We support deep reforms in economy, law and in other spheres which correspond with modern society of the end of the 20th century. We support the concept of transfer to a state-regulated socialist market economy, reconstruction of the legal order which would fully ensure democratic and civil freedoms, all features of a modern, law- observing state", he continued, and stressed that the current crisis in Czechoslovakia is not a crisis of socialism but of its deformed shape which had survived but has to be removed now as it has become an impediment for social development. It is above all the party members who must decide about the party policy

in the future. The presidium has therefore decided to annul the new draft rules and to prepare their new concept for the extraordinary congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, he said.

The party has all possibilities to preserve its significant position in society, to express and defend the interests of the working people, intelligentsia, youth but also of pensioners, to struggle for social and economic reforms but not to the detriment of the working people, their interests and certainties, Karel Urbanek said.

Commenting on the topical political issues and tasks and the solution of the crisis, he stressed that the Communist Party expects from the new government that it will ensure the functioning of the state and prepare free, secret and direct elections.

It is impossible to ignore the current trends to cast doubts on the territorial and political realities in Europe created in consequence of World War Two. This concerns especialy the re- unification of Germany which would mean a basic change in the balance of forces on the European Continent, Urbanek said, and stressed the significance of the alliance with the Soviet Union as the main and durable guarantee for the Czechoslovak state.

Jakes Denies Responsibility for 17 Nov Incident

LD1112232389 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Here in the building of the Federal Assembly it is already the 10th day of deliberations by the parliamentary commission, which is supervising the investigation of the 17 November events.

Its members today began another phase of their work—they want to discover to what degree the intervention by security forces on 17 November on the Narodni Trida was planned in advance and exactly by whom.

Among other things they acquainted themselves with a letter from Milos Jakes who, despite the fact that he agreed with the security forces' intervention— and the commission also sent him documents which prove it—again unequivocally denied his political responsibility.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Did you gain any new information today on the number of wounded persons and how their wounds were caused?

[Unidentified commission member] Dr Bauer, deputy head of the Neurological Hospital in Motol, was present here and he told us the exact number so far of wounded persons.

[Reporter] How many wounded people are there and what are their wounds? do you know?

[Commission member] So far exactly 71 wounded persons are registered and in some cases the wounds are rather serious. Even the procedure leading to a disability pension is being considered.

[Reporter] What information did you receive from the military prosecutor?

[Commission member] We were told that three people are already being held in custody and several other people have been accused.

[Reporter] The commission today adopted a 24-page report on its work to date and revealed facts which tomorrow will be submitted to a joint session of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly. The report spells out, among other things, specific wounds to demonstrators caused during the intervention on 17 November on Narodni Trida. Among the most serious are brain concussion and damage caused to neck, spine, and kidneys.

The report also includes proposals for important changes to laws, regulations, and legal measures, aimed at preventing the repetition of a similar intervention.

[Reporter] Let us return to what minister—former minister—Kincl said. Have you already managed to get the name of a high political official who, according to his words, gave the order to intervene?

[Commission member, in Slovak] He was a representative of military prosecution, and his name was not mentioned. Comrade Kincl says that he did not express himself in the way it was presented in the press—as if he received a direct order from someone to take this course of action, respectively that the forces should take this course of action. However, the entire action was discussed with political representatives whom we mention in our report. [end recording]

Prof Materna, military judge of long standing and who teaches at the Faculty of Law of Komensky University, was also invited to the commission's session. His task is to help the commission to orient itself in criminal code and legal issues.

Suits Filed Against Bilak Over 1968 Events

LD1112183289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Two suits have so far been filed against the former Czechoslovak Communist Party Secretary Vasil Bilak, for directly instigating the entry of the troops of the five Warsaw Pact states on our territory, and their interference in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. The General Prosecutor's Office, according to Jiri Levinsky, the director of its Inspectorate Department, will deal with these charges.

The fact is, however, that if any of Vasil Bilak's actions may have been acts constituting a criminal offence, more than 20 years have passed since that time, which, according to our legal code, would come under the Statute of Limitations, which covers all criminal acts except war crimes. Vasil Bilak would therefore no longer be called to responsibility for such offences.

Security Forces' Actions in 1988 Under Scrutiny

LD1212102989 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] The Slovak National Council's Deputies' Commission for overseeing the action of the National Security Corps against a meeting of believers on 25 March 1988 in Bratislava has begun its work in the Slovak capital.

In particular, the Commission will endeavor to unearth all the circumstances preceding 25 March 1988, the progress of the actual meeting of believers, the method and severity of the action taken by the members of the National Security Corps, and the subsequent decisions taken by the legislative bodies.

Prosecutor General Pjescak Resigns 7 Dec

LD0812193489 Prague CTK in English 1826 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Prosecutor General Jan Pjescak asked by a letter of December 7 Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak to be relieved of the post of Czechoslovak prosecutor general.

The president complied with his request by letter of December 8 and recalled him of this post and thanked him for his work.

Demonstrators Express Confidence in Government

LD1112235389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2300 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Several thousands citizens gathered tonight again at Namesti Square in Pizen. They expressed their confidence in the new government, but pointed out that it was just a provisional government and, according to their view, does not yet fully express the real distribution of political forces. The participants supported the candidature of Vaclav Havel for president of the Republic. At the same time, they criticized the fact that many people who had helped in the moral, economic, and ecological decline of our state still remained in high posts of the state and party apparatus.

Parties, Organizations View Political Situation

LD1112184789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] This afternoon talks took place in the Obecni Dum [cafe in central Prague] in Prague between representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Civic Forum, the National Coordination Strike Committe of Students, the Socialist Union of Youth and the CPCZ.

Talks were devoted to further joint steps to calm down the political situation in our country. It was characterized by a constructive attitude of all the parties taking part which agreed to continue these contacts.

Dubcek Explains Stand on Role in Politics

LD1012201389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Interview with Alexander Dubcek by correspondent Jarmila Tosecka; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Tosecka] I would like to ask your view, especially after Saturday's statement by Mr Budaj in the Na Pasienkoch sports hall, that according to your remarks to the foreign press you do not have any aspirations to take part in the management of affairs. I would like to ask for your unequivocal standpoint on this important question.

[Dubcek] I think that this question should be answered directly, just as it was put. Three days ago I granted an interview to one independent television station, which asked me a similar question. The question was something like this: are you going to rejoin politics? I don't know whether this question had been put correctly, but I have never left politics. I have been in politics over the whole period and I remain in politics. this is what I told this television station, but, I recall, he interrupted me and said: What is your response to your nomination for president? But you know, you should ask others who agree with this nomination. as far as my own view is concerned, I think it is the people who must decide this.

So this is my stance: I am stressing once again: I have never left politics, otherwise I could not turn up where there were hundreds of thousands of people, where I, too, felt like one of them. so, this pronouncement by Mr Budaj is a bit out of touch with the fact that I have been in politics not only for the last 20 years, when I was subjected to certain persecution—after all for 18 years I and my whole family were under the security forces' supervision—but I entered politics along with other people [as heard]. If someone thinks that politics is made at the top, he is very wrong. I understand politics in an altogether different way. Politics is made both at the top and at the bottom. now I am making it at the bottom where nations and people are.

Civic Forum Statement on Presidential Elections

LD1112231289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] The coordinating center of the Civic Forum issued a statement today on the election of the president. It says that in the present extraordinary situation we must all have an interest in resolving it peacefully, in a dignified way, and in keeping with the principles of democracy. In view of the fact that free elections cannot be held immediately, it is necessary that represntative bodies, which had been elected in previous conditions, function until they are held. Only after free elections will it be possible to establish all constitutional bodies in accord with the will of the people. This is why it is envisaged that the president to be elected will stand down, and that a new president will be elected in accord with the newly created political relations in Czechoslovakia.

Civic Forum Supports Students' Strike

LD1112172189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] The Coordination Centre of Civic Forum issued this statement at 1500 [1400 GMT] today: Civic Forum fully stands behind the students and supports their decision to strike.

Social Democratic Party Elects Chairman

LD0812212389 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] The preparatory committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party held a news conference in Prague today.

The leadership of the committee reported that Slavomir Klaban had been elected the committee's chairman, and Bretislav Nedbalek the secretary.

It was stated at the news conference that several preparatory committees had been already formed, for example in Brno, Ostrava, Olomouc, as well as in Slovakia. However, it is possible to envisage that all these committees will unite and will enter the elections unified as the Social Democratic Party.

The Prague preparatory committee has already received several thousands membership applications from all over the Republic. The exact number of them will be announced next week. Lists of signatures supporting the party have been signed in Prague so far by 150,000 people, as was stated here.

Communists Propose Direct Presidential Election

LD1112173989 Prague CTK in English 1611 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 11 (CTK)—The Democratic Forum of Communists (DFK) proposes that the new Czechoslovak president be elected directly by all people which is necessary due to the present composition of the Federal Assembly, The DFK said in a statement handed over to CTK today.

It proposed that work on the preparation of such an election be started immediately.

Gysi Cites Gorbachev on German Frontiers

LD1112164189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1600 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Soviet state and party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, according to Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Chairman Gregor Gysi, has expressed the view in a telephone conversation that the borders between the two German states "must remain untouched." This emerges from a copy of an interview, prereleased to ADN in Bonn, which Gysi gave to the Hamburg magazine STERN. The SED chairman said that during a telephone conversation on Sunday evening, Gorbachev argued that "a precedent would be created for Europe" through changes in Germany. "Desires for changes of borders in Europe would soon follow. This would spell the end of stability." Gorbachev, Gysi said, also explained that he "places the greatest value on the sovereignty of this country and also on the preservation of this party."

On the discussion in the SED about renaming the party, Gysi said that there is no consideration for choosing the name Socialist Party of Germany and the acronym SPD. The proposal to choose "People's Party" as the new name seemed to him "too vague", Gysi added. Choosing a name is "a very difficult task," and he wants, above all else, to prevent any division of the party over this. If the former state party has to go over to the opposition, he fears "a power vacuum that no one else can fill."

Gysi said that he is receptive to the development of a performance-oriented, middle-class economy in the GDR, to capital transfers, and to joint ventures with the West. This would be possible "only under the condition," however, "that the key industries remain in the national ownership and that there are social guarantees."

Arms Deliveries to Ethiopia Halted

LD1112173989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1714 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Addis Ababa (ADN)—The GDR has stopped all arms deliveries to Ethiopia. It was reported in Addis Ababa today that the fulfillment of such treaties had been cancelled.

In the past, the GDR had delivered arms and military equipment to the East African country on a commercial basis at Ethiopia's request. The GDR, for its part, emphasized its full support for a political resolution of the civil war in the north of the country.

Schalk-Golodkowski Appeals for Fair Trial

LD1112211189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2028 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Former GDR State Secretary Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, presently being held in West Berlin's Moabit prison, will only appear before a GDR court if he can expect a fair trial. Schalck's West Berlin lawyer, Dr Peter Danckert, told ADN this in Berlin this evening. At present, the "understandable emotions" are, however, so strong, that such a trial could not, in his opinion, be guaranteed. Danckert said that Schalck is concerned "that he is being sacrificed." This concern must be removed. The understandable emotions should without delay give way to sober analysis.

With a little more distance, Schalck's "services to the GDR and to the citizens of the FRG and West Berlin" should "be placed in the forefront of the considerations," said Danckert, who is in daily contact with his client.

It is important, Dr Danckert stressed, that Schalck had declined to be questioned by the news services of the Allies and by those of the FRG. He had made plain that the reason for this was that he is a GDR citizen and a bearer of state secrets. Schalck had said that he will not commit treason.

According to the lawyer, the prosecutor-general must examine in the Supreme Court in West Berlin by the end of the year whether there are judicial requirements for Schalck's transfer to the GDR. If this is not the case, then Schalck must be released.

Dr Danckert had talks in the GDR capital today with lawyer Professor Wolfgang Vogel on the further representation of Schalck by the GDR lawyer. Prof Vogel had agreed, Danckert said, to continue this task. He would find it very interesting, Dr Dancekrt added, if he, as a lawyer from West Berlin, should have the opportunity to have personal contact with the GDR justice authorities, "although I believe that our interests are admirably represented by Prof Vogel."

New Border Crossing Opens in Potsdam Area

LD1112195489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1320 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—A border crossing point was opened this morning between Kleinmachnow (GDR Potsdam Area) and Zehlendorf, Berlin (West), in the presence of the mayors and numerous inhabitants of both places.

The new crossing—the ninth in the Potsdam area—was provided at the instigation of Kleinmachnow citizens, and for the time being can only be used by pedestrians.

Gerlach Holds Talks With U.S. Congressmen

LD0812154189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1419 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The social changes in the GDR provide even better preconditions for flourishing relations between the United States and GDR. What is taking place here was in line with the Helsinki CSCE process. This was stated by Steny H. Hoyer, who is

heading a delegation of the U.S. House of Representatives, following a 1-and-1/2-hour talk with Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach, acting chairman of the GDR State Council.

Hoyer, chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, told journalists after the talk at the official seat of the State Council that he supports more intensive relations between the parliaments of the United States and the GDR. He expects the elections next year to bring further progress in the new parliament and further social reforms in the country.

The delegation, which includes Democratic and Republican representatives from several U.S. states, had a frank exchange of views with the acting head of the GDR state. Prof Dr Gerlach informed the guests about the current reform process, stressing that the GDR's foreign policy will be continued steadily with the emphasis on the preservation of peace in Europe, disarmament and good international cooperation to mutual advantage. He assessed the visit by the U.S. representatives as an expression of interest in the development of relations with the GDR. They are capable of being considerably expanded, especially under the new social conditions.

Gerlach gave assurance that the GDR is actively and comprehensively helping to shape the CSCE process and is helping in the construction of the all-European home with its own contributions. He spoke in favor of the United States, along with other Western countries, having a presence in the GDR and providing economic and other kinds of cooperation.

The GDR has received with interest President Bush's statement on reforms in the GDR, as well as statements to the effect that the United States is considering a reduction in its troop strength in the course of worldwide disarmament.

Manfred Gerlach said he is convinced that as a result of the Vienna conference, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the GDR will also take place. The GDR continues to be firmly anchored in the Warsaw Pact alliance and in the CEMA. His country will very much welcome and support a second Helsinki, as proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev during his visit to Rome.

During the talk, the U.S. congressmen stressed the requirement of security and stability on the European continent and a constructive continuation of negotiations on arms limitation and disarmament. They discussed numerous questions concerning political and economic perspectives in the GDR, and inquired in detail about social development. They were particularly interested in the FRG federal chancellor's 10-point program. Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach referred in this connection to Modrow's government statement, with regard to a treaty-based community with the FRG, which was taken up by Helmut Kohl. The so-called confederative structures developed by the chancellor extending to an association of the two German states, are not acceptable in this form to many GDR citizens; instead, the proposals for an expansion of bilateral cooperation with the further existence of two sovereign German states, which exist side by side for a long time, are the most important aspects. So-called reunification and changing the frontiers in Europe would amount to instability on the continent, which would render great harm to the Helsinki process.

The questions posed by the U.S. lawmakers—for example, about guarantees for a law-governed state in the GDR, about control mechanisms and party constituent meetings for forthcoming elections—revealed concern about the emotional excesses and manifestations of destabilization which resulted in part from the emigration of many GDR citizens to the FRG. They also asked questions about how, in view of the open borders—which they welcomed—dangers of the drug trade and drug abuse could be averted in the GDR. Cooperation between the two countries—for example, in the education of young people, was considered.

In conclusion, Steny H. Hoyer thanked him for the instructive information about the—as he described it—dramatic events in Berlin and the entire GDR. He wished his counterpart success in the efforts for reform and took his leave from Prof Dr Manfred Gerlach with the hope that U.S. relations with the GDR will continue to develop in various spheres.

Commentary Positively Assesses Malta Summit

AU0712151389 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 5 Dec 89 p 1

[Bo Adam commentary: "A Summit Trying to Gain Ground"]

[Text] The meteorologically turbulent summit meeting between Gorbachev and Bush off the coast of Malta offered some opportunities for maritime allegories.

Indeed, during their meeting the world's two most important statesmen had to deal both with a stormy sea and stormy developments in Europe. The remarkable thing was that both were obviously trying not to leave the firm ground of realities and not to lose sight of the real main problems of mankind.

Thus, it seems that, as a result of the meeting, we might get a treaty on the elimination of the strategic nuclear weapons of the USSR and the United States, which will be ready for signature by next June. An agreement on the reduction of chemical weapons could also be imminent. And, finally, Moscow and Washington are striving (also for 1990) to conclude a treaty at the Vienna negotiations. As is known, these negotiations deal with the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe.

With these focal issues of their talks, Gorbachev and Bush also gave very clear signals to those politicians in

the FRG and in other countries, who are increasingly putting their nationalist ambitions above all-European interests.

The U.S. President's support for the CSCE concept of lasting borders in Europe and the corresponding statements by Mikhail Gorbachev express in a diplomatic way what all responsible politicians in the neighboring states of the GDR and the FRG think: They do not want to have the long-term efforts for a continental peace order, for a common European home, destroyed by re-emerging calls for "Germany, Germany above all."

100,000 Demonstrate in Leipzig

LD1112181789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1739 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The 10th demonstration since 7 October by Leipzig citizens for the democratic renewal of the Republic once again brought together over 100,000 people today. In view of the heightened tension and indignation over the past few days with the further cases of abuse of office and enrichment, numerous demonstrators warned against taking the law into their own hands and warned against attacks getting out of hand. University students and scientists, representatives of the Democratic Awakening and other initiatory groups called for calm and democratic behavior.

A Leipzig "Principle of Hope" initiatory leaflet, many thousand copies of which were distributed in Karl-Marx-Platz and which was signed by workers, doctors, university teachers and artisans, was devoted to the same theme. The demonstration was preceded once again by prayers for peace in four churches and by a rally in Karl-Marx-Platz.

More Protests Noted

LD1112201989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1918 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Demonstrations took place again this evening in several GDR area (bezirk) cities. [passage omitted]

A rally outside the Leipzig Opera House was characterized by black, red, and gold flags—with and without the garland of corn. Banners questioned the meaning of a united Germany. Slogans retorted: "Germany, a single fatherland!" Numerous banners also bore this slogan. All participants agreed that the revolution begun should be continued peacefully. These opportunities should not be wasted in a greater Germany, it was said, bringing the response of shrill whistles and boos.

In Dresden a demonstration of 90,000 Dresden citizens was to take place on the subject of environmental protection. From the start it divided into two separate camps. One expressed the wish for a united Germany, while the majority was in favor of the preservation of an independent, renewed GDR along economic, ecological, democratic, and social lines.

After a demonstration in Halle, thousands of citizens took part in a rally organized by the Social Democratic Party [SPD] in the framework of the Halle House of Reform, an umbrella movement comprising groups and citizens initiatives. Lawyer Dr Volkhard Frenzel called for no violence, which has to date been the "greatest argument of our revolution." Other speakers advocated overcoming the division of the German nation in the framework of a European peace order.

In Potsdam, Bundestag Deputy Karsten Voigt spoke at a rally at the invitation of the SDP. Speaking to several hundred listeners, he supported the cooperation and the rapprochement of two sovereign German states toward a confederation.

In Karl-Marx-Stadt the predominant demand of around 40,000 demonstrators was for German reunification. Speakers from different groups and movements advocated a united nation. FRG Chancellor Kohl's 10-point plan found support. The demands included a referendum on German unity before the elections in May. There were also demands for the final disbandment of units and of the Office for National Security, and of the SED basic organizations in the enterprises by 15 December.

In Neubrandenburg, representatives of New Forum called for calm and level-headedness. Gerhard Stoll, spokesman of the organization, and Dr Hans-Juergen Frank opposed taking the law into one's own hands, and threats of murder and violence. The doctor said that being human meant allowing fairness to prevail in treatment of a defeated opponent.

In Schwerin, around 7,000 citizens responded to New Forum's call for a demonstation. Speakers at the event, on the subject of education, distanced themselves from the content of some revanchist speeches of the previous week. They advocated, among other things, free, responsible, and strong-minded schoolchildren, a new education law, and free schools. [passage omitted]

Demonstrations To Continue

LD1112220489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2049 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Demonstrations took place once again this evening in Berlin and in several GDR (bezirk) cities.

The pros and cons of reunification determined the discussion at Monday's [11 December] demonstration at Berlin's Alexanderplat. A Social Democratic Party policy paper advocating unity of the German nation with full sovereignty of the two states was read by Knut Herbst, one of the five organizers of the event. It was received with applause and boos from the 2,000 or so present. Some speakers described this demand as illusionary, since the stronger FRG could always impose conditions on the weaker GDR. At the end of the

demonstration, which lasted 1-and-1/2 hours, the organizers appealed to the gathered groups to return next Monday with concepts. Some hours before, around 1,000 Berlin citizens demonstrated for an effective environment policy. On banners and in slogans they demanded a halt to waste imports and demanded the replacement of Environment Minister Reichelt. [passage omitted]

Several thousand Magdeburg citizens demonstrated for the complete dissolution of the Office for National Security and the securing of still existing documents, as well as the release of all political prisoners. Beforehand, a prayer was read to the Christians in the GDR and the FRG for responsible discussion of the German question in the changed circumstances. Although the cathedral community had called for calm and nonviolence, aggressive voices were also heard in the procession. Banners reading "I do not want to go home to the Reich" and "Germany, a single fatherland," stood in opposition to one another.

Temporary Department To Investigate Corruption

LD1112164389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1543 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Council of Ministers today dealt with the results of the December roundtable meeting at an extraordinary session. The discussion on this will continue on Thursday [14 December].

The government's press and information service told ADN that it was resolved in principle, as an initial measure, to set up a temporary investigation department to clear up the cases of abuse of office and corruption, which will be subordinated to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Professor Dr Ulrich Dahn of the Criminal Law Chair at the Academy for Political Sciences and Jurisprudence will head the investigation department.

Newspaper Notes 'Witch-Hunt' of SED Members

LD1212092789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0856 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The profound mistrust in the GDR towards the former ruling Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] is being felt by its members even in the job market now. One can already see on many factory gates: "Job vacancies...no SED members need apply," the party organ NEUES DEUTSCHLANDD writes on its front page today. The reporter expresses the concern that "people are being quite marginalized" at a time when all are needed for the radical renewal of socialism. Former SED kreis [district] secretaries in the Leipzig Bezirk [area] expressed their resistance "to the witch-hunt against them" in a letter to the newspaper. Violating human diignity under some new slogan "would not be a good beginning," the reporter writes.

New Name for Socialist Unity Party Advocated

AU1112185389 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 6 Dec 89 p 1

[Hans Eggert commentary: "New Name for SED?"]

[Text] Since almost unbelievable things have been disclosed and it is now clear to what extent former high-ranking functionaries of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] have fleeced their party and the state, there is indignation and anger when the SED is mentioned, and many people no longer want to use this name if possible. This situation also affects hundreds of thousands of honest working party members, many of whom have had to put up with threats ("cling together, swing together") or even worse things in the past few hours.

Even the unprecedented purge that a coalition of innovators in the SED and the citizens' initiatives are trying to push through now will not immediately damp down the emotions nor result in a differentiated evaluation of the party and its members. The SED members have to realize at last: Their party which, pursuing communist and socialist ideals, they joined without knowing what bad relations they had established with potentates, is not only in a crisis, but—at least at the top—is already unable to move and does not even enjoy the confidence of its own ranks. If these comrades want to implement their ideals politically in the future, they will need a new party that is not only radically purged of Stalinist structures, but that is protected in advance by new structures from all the possibilities of corruption, abuse of authority, or arrogance of power. In this case it would be only normal to give this new socialist party a new name.

Nemeth, Horn Greet New CSSR Officials

LD1112213889 Budapest MTI in English 1851 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, Dec 11 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth has sent a telegram of greetings to Marian Calfa on the occasion of his appointment to prime minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Foreign Minister Gyula Horn has greeted in a telegrqam Jiri Dienstbier on the occasion of his appointment to foreign minister of Czechoslovakia.

Dubcek Views 'Process' in CSSR, Hungary

LD1112224389 Budapest MTI in English 2118 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, Dec 11 (MTI)—'Don't you feel that your great national movement would lose momentum during the Christmas holidays and the power structures try to launch a rollback?' asked the reporter of "Panorama", a foreign policy programme of the Hungarian television, from Slovakian politician Alexander Dubcek.

Mr Dubcek said, 'I think these anxieties are entirely groundless since the whole society is in motion and the power structures are confused. Of course, there is a great deal of impatience in Czechoslovakia as it was in Hungary. But some kind of gradualness is required in any case. Understanding, tolerance and, in some cases, even compromises are indispensable. But the process cannot be halted. It will continue in both Hungary and Czechoslovakia.'

Journalists Banned From Visiting Romania

LD1112204489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungaria n 0600 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Timisoara—Three staff members of NEPSZABADSAG have been banned from Romania for 5 years because they wanted to visit Laszlo Toekes [pastor of the Reformed Church in Romania]. The journalists only got as far as the door to the pastor's home, when the police intevened. Later, the reporters were made to wait at the border for 5 hours, then they were [words indistinct] and searched. The films and tape recordings they had made of the visit were confiscated. The poice are (?swarming) around Laszlo Toekes' home. The faithful are not being allowed into the church. For this reason the pastor chose to don his pastor's clothing and lead people by the hand from the street into the building. As a matter of fact, Laszlo Toekes has been given until today to comply with the decision to evict him.

NEPSZABADSAG on Albania's National Day

AU0512135689 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Nov 89 p 6

[Unattributed article: "On Albania's National Day"]

[Text] Albania celebrates a double holiday at the end of November: On 28 November, the Albanian people celebrate the "Albanian flag", the national independence obtained in 1912, and today they remember the day in 1944 when the last German occupying soldier left the country.

Skenderbeg's people are a stubborn nation. They are faithfully preserving their Illyrian culture, language, and customs, and their sense of identity is indestructible. They flout any military superiority and any other foreign influence, no matter how strong it may be. Either as a result of this or not, they are distrustful too: This must in part be the reason for the fact that Albania has been isolated from the outside world for decades. In 1961, opposing the Khruschev-type ferment of Stalinist socialism, Albania gradually turned against its Eastern European allies, and also against China 10 years later. Albania continues to stick to its old ideals, although it is slowly easing its isolation. A meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of Balkan states was held in Tirana this year, and an increasing number of commercial ties now link Tirana with its neighbors.

As of this year, Hungary is again represented in Tirana at the ambassadorial level for the first time since 1961, and we are expecting an Albanian ambassador in Budapest. Besides, both countries expressed their intention to see to it that the differences in our concepts of socialism do not hinder our interstate cooperation, based on mutual respect and advantages. The planned R40 million exchange of goods, the agreement of the two chambers of commerce, and the scientific agreement between the two countries all serve this purpose. Albania received detailed information about the joint Yugoslav-Italian-Austrian-Hungarian regional cooperation initiative, because there is hope that Tirana will also play a more active role in the renewal of Europe.

We hope that, within this framework, it is not an empty dream that, with time, an increasing number of Hungarian tourists will be able to travel to Albania, a country close to us and which can offer outstanding opportunities for tourism. By immersing themselves not only in the sea, but also in Albanian culture and everyday life, our people would also personally wish peace and prosperity to Albania.

Delegate to Arms Reduction Talks Interviewed

LD1112222289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Interview with Istvan Gyarmati, deputy leader of the Hungarian delegation at the Vienna conventional arms reduction talks, by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Istvan Gyarmati is deputy leader of the Hungarian delegation at the Vienna talks on conventional arms. Next week, the fourth round of the Vienna talks will end. This year, there were two announcements that the Hungarian Armed Forces were being reduced. Is a further reduction expected?

[Gyarmati] I believe that the current announcement, which provides for a 35 percent reduction by the end of 1991, as compared to the beginning of this year, can be viewed as an unavoidable, very important and positive first step. We think that the agreement on conventional armed forces will be concluded in Vienna in 1990, which also means that, in continuation of the reductions carried out up to now, we will have to implement a further reduction in the Hungarian Armed Forces, together, of course, with the reduction of the armed forces of the other 22 member states of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This also means that after the first agreement is concluded, the complete withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary will become possible, and it also means that a process will get underway which, within a relatively brief time, could lead to the disintegration of the two military alliance systems.

[Reporter] For the sake of precision, what date would you give for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops?

[Gyarmati] I believe that this would be simultaneous with the implementation of the first agreement, thus, there would be a realistic possibility for this by the end of 1993.

[Reporter] There have been recent suppositions in the Hungarian press that there would be a vacuum, after the departure of the Soviet troops, which would be of a size so as to make the country defenseless vis-a-vis a possible Romanian attack.

[Gyarmati] In my view, that is absolutely not true, partly because the presence of the Soviet troops does not serve in any way as a guarantee against a Romanian attack, partly because even after the reductions, a comparison of the Hungarian Army with the Romanian Army shows that it would be able to beat off an armed force which has a capacity much greater than that of the Romanian Army. Alongside this, allow me to say, without discussing Romania's intentions, that the Romanian military capability, the Romanian military threat against Hungary, has not increased in past years. To my knowledge the Romanian Army has not increased, but decreased, and it is the least reinforced and worst equipped sections of the Romanian Army which are stationed at the Hungarian borders. Therefore, I do not believe that there might be a threat of the real danger of a Romanian attack.

[Reporter] At the everyday person's level of awareness, it is not a real attack or possible threat which causes fear, but the confused system of political relations which has come about in Romania and in Yugoslavia. Most recently, the initiative of the Hungarian Government was to create a demilitarised zone along the Yugoslav-Austrian border [with Hungary]. In such a situation, when the danger of the disintegration of the state has arisen in Yugoslavia, when serious tensions have been accumulating between Serbia and Slovenia, or could I even say in the system of relations between Serbia and Vojvodina, many people query how realistic, for example, is such a Hungarian initiative?

[Gyarmati] I do not even believe that (?nothing at all) might threaten Hungary's security. Indeed, the part of the current [word indistinct] armed forces reform, which earmarks a reduction of the predominance of the part of the army which is stationed in the west [of Hungary], serves precisely the objective that armed forces should be more evenly distributed in the country's territory. Until now we had exclusively counted on attacks from the West. Now, this distribution also means a more balanced preparedness. My conviction is that the Hungarian Army can have no task whatsoever in a neighboring country. Its task, exclusively, is that should a military conflict develop in a hypothetical neighboring country, it should keep this far away from the Hungarian borders. The Hungarian Army, at present and after the reductions, will be able to do this.

[Reporter] The Hungarian Army, as regards weapons, is fully, unequivocally Soviet-orientated, though I presume we can also procure light weapons from elsewhere; from Czechoslovakia, from here or there, but they at any event are socialist in origin. In the coming period, might there be problems related to component supplies and other problems, which might basically make the Hungarian Army vulnerable?

[Gyarmati] I think that as long as it is in the Soviet Union's interest that the Hungarian Army should remain effective, it will ensure the replacement of these components.

[Reporter] This, however, also implies that if it does not have this interest, it will not ensure these. How can we prepare ourselves for such a situation?

[Gyarmati] This also means that if it does not have this interest, it is not certain that it will ensure these. This is not precluded. We can prepare ourselves for this situation, on the one hand, by trying to offset this out of our own resources, by utilizing the means being reduced, and on the other hand I cannot—and do not want—to preclude that in the future we will gradually alter this one-sided system, and that we might seek some kind of cooperation, if not with a more developed NATO country, then with neutral countries.

[Reporter] Many people might be horrified at what I ask, but is it conceivable that, for example, we might devote a portion of the loans taken in the international monetary market to modern, Western military technology? Are loans given at all, now, for such objectives? For security objectives?

[Gyarmati] In my conviction this is inconceivable, because we have not received such large amounts in loans that there remains enough for this. Also, it is obvious that if we were to utilize a loan in this manner, it would shake the trust of the international monetary world to such an extent that it is better not to even think of the consequences.

[Reporter] Have the recent East European developments basically altered our situation? I am thinking that in the GDR, six [word indistinct] were supposedly called back, which obviously is a drastic consideration. The Czechoslovak leadership is asking the USSR to reexamine the presence of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia; I will not continue.

[Gyarmati] I believe that the changes exert a positive impact on Hungary's situation, on the one hand because the danger within the Warsaw pact, of which we earlier were afraid, that reform-orientated Poland and Hungary might become isolated, has ceased to exist, and now an entirely different country is being isolated within the Warsaw Pact. On the other hand this is so because every European change which reduces the danger of military conflict is favorable for us.

Janos Berecz Speaks on MSZMP Renewal

LD1212103389 Budapest MTI in English 0648 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, Dec 12 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP)—now in the process of being newly organised—shall be a fundamentally renewed democratic party, that reaches to its grassroots in carrying out its policy based on the country's new constitution, it was stated by Janos Berecz and Laszlo Udvarhelyi, members of the preparatory committee of the HSWP's 14th Congress, who were the speakers at a rally held at Nyiregyhaza (E Hungary), on Monday.

In his speech, Mr Berecz also spoke about the relation between the HSWP and the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), emphasizing that its development depends largely from the Hungarian Socialist Party, in view of the fact that the HSWP intends to avoid a fraternal feud of the left-wing. [sentence as received]

Nemeth Outlines Economic Tasks

LD1112180989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] The Hungarian head of government stated after the conclusion of the national summit discussions that if parliament does not adopt the new draft budget at its session due to begin in a week and a half, this could have unforeseeable consequences. Andras Kerekes speaks about the drastic and restrictive measures:

[Kerekes] The provisional president of the National Assembly will propose at the session due to begin on 18 December that parliament curtail its mandate, thereby making it possible for the provisional president of the republic to call general elections for the second half of March.

Miklos Nemeth, head of government, considered the most important result of the national summit to be that the majority of the participants are ready to be responsible partners of the government in the assertion of the nation's interests, and to subordinate their own viewpoints—with the appropriate circumspection, of course—to the national interest. We can count on international support only if we ourselves do everything necessary.

The premier said that the government is responsible also for the period after the elections. No matter how startling it may sound, it is precisely for this reason that it is to submit a very harsh budget to parliament. If it is unable to get this adopted, then in the coming period the country's population will, perhaps for decades, get into a qualitatively worse situation, such as is virtually inconceivable today. Without an adopted budget there is no agreement with the IMF. Inflation will be 19 - 19.5 percent.

In the short-term housing management system, the starting of adjustments is unavoidable. We will have to reckon partly with raising rents and partly with the differentiated and selective increase of the tax payable on interests. The structure change will accelerate. In the coming days the banks will commence the liquidation of some 50 enterprises, and this time the government will not throw out a safety line to anyone. A 20 percent reduction can be expected in ruble-accounted export. In a few months, unemployment could reach 50-100,000. The harder living conditions can only partially be alleviated by active social policy.

Up to a determined level of income the burdens will be compensated fully in the case of pensioners and people with three or more children, and above that level, partially. As for young people, they can obtain nonrepayable support. The government is open to the abolition of the wage tax, the wage freeze, if the shortfall of takings can be made up from other sources, the premier affirmed. Then he stressed: It is a fundamental interest that the transition should take as short a time as possible. Let the masked ball end as soon as possible. Let it become clear how big a proportion of society stands behind which party. Parliament and government, on the other hand, must at all events remain capable of action. For a peaceful transition it is necessary to enact the minimum of concomitant, the few most basic, laws.

The government does not intend by any means to submit any law that might decisively influence the situation after the elections. Further, it wants to debate all the laws at a professional level with the participants of the national summit.

Polish-Soviet Discussions Reported in Detail

AU1212102689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Dec 89 p 4

[Zygmunt Slomkowski report: "What Was Agreed in Moscow?"]

[Excerpts] Premier Mazowiecki's visit to the Soviet Union was an important event in Polish-Soviet relations. The discussions enabled concrete problems to be raised, outlined the ways and means of tackling them, and in cases sketched out the possible decisions.

One of the issues raised by Tadeusz Mazowiecki concerned Poles who live in the Soviet Union. As a result of perestroyka and earlier endeavors by the Polish side, much has already been done in this sphere, and a visible sign of progress was the premier's meeting with representatives of Polish communities throughout the Soviet Union.

Program for the Polish Communities in the USSR

In the talks with our Soviet partners the following issues were raised:

—The development of Polish teaching, namely, the introduction of Polish teaching where there are Polish communities. In areas where there are no Polish teachers, the possibility of Polish teachers coming from Poland, and the improvement of Polish teaching in the USSR. There is also a great need for Polish books to be available in the Soviet Union;

—The easing of travel restrictions on Soviet citizens of Polish origin wishing to travel to Poland (abolish the need for invitations);

—Allowing Polish priests to travel to the Soviet Union, and the possibility of Poles being able to study for the priesthood in the Soviet Union;

—The possibility of beginning Polish language broadcasts for all Polish communities throughout the Soviet Union who are beyond the range of Polish radio and television transmissions. Additionally, there is a need to create appropriate technical conditions so that Polish communities in the Soviet Union living near the Polish border can receive Polish television programs;

—Giving Poles in the Soviet Union access to all legally published Polish publications, and to review the possibility of publishing Polish newspapers in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

The Difficult Past

The problems linked to the past, and which weigh so heavily on Polish-Soviet relations were also the subject of discussions. This last visit has allowed the range of these problems to be broadened and the matter of the "blank spots," along with Katyn, was again discussed. [passage omitted]

The rehabilitation of the Polish Home Army (operating in the territories that in 1939 were incorporated by the Soviet Union) was put on the discussion agenda, along with the moral and material compensation for the victims of the Stalinist repressions. The matter of reparations (Minister Swiecicki has said that the Soviet side expressed a desire to negotiate and talk) was raised in the context of the discussions on the agreement on welfare security, this concerns all the people have worked in the Soviet Union and as a result have acquired the right to Soviet pensions.

New Features in Economic Relations

As is well known the lion's share of the time in the Moscow negotiations went to economic questions. Both sides expressed their readiness to:

—Depart from the methods of planning and directives toward a cooperation based on market mechanisms;

—Conduct, beginning in 1990, part of their transactions on an experimental basis, as freely negotiated agreements between the productive and trade enterprises, which would now have the power to chose the currency applicable to the transaction;

—Strive to change—from 1991—to a settlement of accounts based on world prices and exchangeable currencies;

—Review the restructuring of Polish indebtedness to the Soviet Union when the trade and payment protocols for 1990 are being agreed for the coming 5-year period;

—Maintain the supply of raw materials and fuel for the coming years on the basis of the last 5 years supply. Poland has proposed substantially larger supplies of Soviet natural gas. This proposal is linked to our participation in the construction of the Yamburg gas pipe-line. [passage omitted]

Working groups have been formed to review these concrete problems. In December, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation's working group on the supply of Soviet raw materials and fuels to Poland for the next 5 years will begin its work. Another working group will review the possibility of introducing systemic changes in mutual trade relations. Additionally, the plenipotentiaries for matters connected with the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland will discuss the financial aspects related to and the verification of the costs that are directly involved in the stationing. Here, it is a matter of agreeing the costs of the writing-off of some investments. [passage omitted]

As can be seen, the Moscow talks did not bring detailed solutions to problems. They did, however, outline certain joint directions for action and highlighted the separate and the mutual interests of the two respective sides. These directions testify to the fact that there is the will and the opportunity to develop our relations further.

Krakow Rally Supports USSR Democratic Front

LD1112212589 Warsaw PAP in English 1926 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Krakow, Dec 11—The NZS independent student union of the Jagiellonian University today held a rally at the foot of the monument to Mickiewicz here to show solidarity with the program of the Democratic Front in the USSR.

The demonstrators heard Andrey Sakharov's letter calling for a general strike in the Soviet Union to support the removal of the constitutional entry on the leading role of the Communist Party. They also issued an appeal to the Sejm (lower house) to speed up amendments to the Polish Constitution.

The rally also protested against the arrest of Sergey Kuznetzov, a journalist of the Moscow-based independent "GLASNOST" paper.

Simonov Views USSR-U.S. Aviation Cooperation

AU0812161689 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5 Dec 89 p 5

[Report "specially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI" on NOVOSTI interview with Mikhail Simonov, chairman of the subcommittee for the defense industry of the Committee for Defense Problems and State Security of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by NOVOSTI military commentator V. Pogrebenko; date and place not given: "The Specter of Conversion Does Not Scare Everyone"]

[Text] As a result of the conversion of military production to civilian production, some Soviet enterprises are no longer operating at maximum potential, and their civilian production is unprofitable. Can one increase the efficiency of defense industry enterprises if they partly undertake "peaceful" production in cooperation with foreign firms?

NOVOSTI discusses this subject with Mikhail Simonov, chairman of the sub-committee for the defense industry of the Committee for Defense Problems and State Security of the USSR Supreme Soviet. He is also general designer in the P. Sukhoi Experimental Design Office, which produces the SU-27 fighter, perhaps the best fighter in the world.

[Pogrebenko] Mikhail Petrovich, what can defense enterprises expect as a result of the drop in weapons orders?

[Simonov] One can expect joy and unpleasantness. Some directors fear that a large quantity of manpower will be released, the enterprise will not operate at maximum potential, and its productivity will collapse. Such fears are justified, but they can be allayed.

Let us take our firm as an example. Spending on armaments has decreased. We have calculated that in our design office, conversion from military to civilian production involves 50 percent of our output, but that does not mean half our employees will become redundant. In order to prevent that, we have reached an agreement with the N. Zhukov Central Aerodynamic Institute about the types of civil aircraft we could design in order to preserve our profitability. What is more, we reached the conclusion that despite the conversion, it is possible to increase our productivity and that of the plants with whom we cooperate.

[Pogrebenko] What is needed for that?

[Simonov] Most of all, it is necessary to establish the correct scope of work. Our form has not encroached on foreign territory. I have in mind well-known design offices like Tupolev, Yakovlev, and Novozhilov, which are working mainly on large aircraft with a weight of 30-33 tonnes. The civilian equivalents of these aircraft are so-called executive [sluzbowy] aircraft.

[Pogrebenko] Of course these service aircraft are faster than cars or trains, but even so they are not all that fast.

[Simonov] You are right. They are all subsonic. In order to achieve a breakthrough in this sphere and offer, to put it in picturesque terms, a product that would be sought after on the world market, it is necessary to make these aircraft fly at Mach 2, in other words twice the speed of sound. Then the amount of time used up by a passenger on single journey will decrease by a factor of 2.5. We commenced work on such an executive aircraft 2 years ago.

[Pogrebenko] Does the scientific level you have achieved permit you to view your future "child" in optimistic terms?

[Simonov] The scientific level we achieved by producing fighters is quite high. I am convinced our executive aircraft is a feasible idea.

[Pogrebenko] You intend to enter the world market. Do you not fear Western competitors?

[Simonov] The best way to shake off competitors is to cooperate with them. That is a joke of course, but it does contain a grain of truth. At least we have seen who else manufactures aircraft like these. We discovered two that do so, the French Dassault and the American Gulfstream Aerospace Cooperation. We held joint consultations. We discovered that our own work on an executive aircraft was proceeding parallel to theirs. The idea of building a joint aircraft emerged.

[Pogrebenko] What about the cost?

[Simonov] Briefly, the total cost of the program is $1 billion. Joint work on the aircraft cuts this cost by half. Selling it in the world market will,assure us of a certain amount of hard currency. The Americans reckon that each aircraft will cost between $40 and 50 million. By the way, the future joint aircraft already has a working name, Gulfstream U6-SU.

[Pogrebenko] What is each side's involvement?

[Simonov] The American side is making the electronics and cabin and cockpit fixtures and fittings. The Soviet side is making the fuselage, undercarriage, and engines. By the way,the English firm Rolls-Royce is making the control system and low-noise turbines of the engines.

[Pogrebenko] What will final mass production look like?

[Simonov] The aircraft should be manufactured in the Soviet Union. The Ministry of Aviation Industry has offered us factories. The aircraft will be manufactured at the Moscow aviation plant, or the Tbilisi aviation plant, or at both. Afterwards, the aircraft will be shipped to the Gulfstream plant for completion and Americanization.

[Pogrebenko] What do you mean by "Americanization"?

[Simonov] To give an example, the Americans have the good habit of installing telephones inside aircraft and a network of ground stations to back them up. It is possible to telephone any city on earth from the aircraft. We consider that a luxury.

[Pogrebenko] Is Gulfstream the only American company with which you are cooperating as part of the conversion of production?

[Simonov] Not at all. The U.S. firm Piper has suggested that we consider the possibility of joint work. As far as recreational aviation is concerned, we have decided to establish a joint enterprise with the American company Pampana Aircenter.

[Pogrebenko] Will these joint ventures not affect our national pride?

[Simonov] I do not think so. We have no inferiority complex. We will reap certain advantages from manufacturing such aircraft with the Americans. Most of all, we will improve the quality of our production, because our aircraft will be going to the West. What is more, our aviation industry will not suffer as a result of the conversion. Finally, we will be able to export our technology. It is commonly but wrongly believed that our country obtains its best things from the West. In fact, we have always had good technologies, and we have something to export.

There is something I would like to say in this context. The idea of obtaining Western credits for the production of deficit general utility goods has no future. I think it is wiser to enter a foreign market, make sure our product sells there, and buy commodities for the domestic market with the money we thus earn.

[Pogrebenko] Do you intend to operate with other countries apart from the Americans?

[Simonov] Yes. The more one eats, the greater one's appetite. We would like to work with Argentinian and other aviation firms. We intend to expand the international aspect of our cooperation.

In connection with this, I would like to point out that some of my colleagues fear that our best forces will be transferred to civilian production. I am convinced everything will proceed smoothly. A broader scope of work will open itself to our young designers. This is yet another advantage of international cooperation during the conversion of military production to civilian production.

Ministers, Spokesman Hold News Conference

LD1112233289 Warsaw PAP in English 2144 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw. Dec 11—Ministers of state Jozef Czyrek, Jozef Koziol, and Piotr Nowina-Konopka, and press spokesman of the president Wlodzimierz Lozinski held a press conference here today.

December 13, 1981

"The matter of martial law is not explained to the end. I think that with the anniversary of martial law nearing, the chief actors of that dramatic event and not the spectators should speak out on the matter," stated Nowina-Konopka.

Speaking on the same subject, Lozinski said that "there are attempts to formulate contemporary assessments without taking into account all the external circumstances of 1981. They lead to many simplifications and omissions of processes which weighted heavily on the decision to introduce martial law, a decision dramatic for the whole nation. A correct assessment of those events calls for a recollection of the then facts and circumstances."

Czyrek told the newsmen that "President Jaruzelski never concealed and even publically accentuated that martial law was lesser evil. This evaluation is consistently presented by him. I think that as regards this issue, even in a diversified society, there are no bigger differences. What is questionable however is whether martial law was inevitable. There are various opinions as to this. It is no one's intention, the president inclusive, to stall or curtail discussion on this topic."

"In the president's view, martial law came to a political conclusion with the signing of the round table agreement. The president steadfastly strived for this agreement. The president unchangingly stresses that the round table agreements are an extremely important political event in the history of our country. This agreement is also an example and experience for other countries which are in a similar situation. Today all of them refer to the institution of a round table," Czyrek stated.

Lozinski added that "the president many a time stressed that in holding the post of premier and commander-in-chief of the armed forces at that time, he takes personal, political and moral responsibility for decisions which were made in December 1981. It is held in Poland and abroad, the West inclusive, that at that time martial law was a lesser evil."

"Jaruzelski has also drawn all the consequences from this date, which caused that martial law opened the way to economic and social reforms and subsequently to political reforms which today are under way and which are accepted by a vast majority of Polish society," Lozinski said.

Nowina Konopka added: "I would like to quote what Jaruzelski told the miners of Upper Silesia. He stated that the meeting (which began with him bowing his head before the cross at the Wujek coal mine) was extremely important for him. And that this matter, this tremendously dramatic event, is like a thorn in his flesh. I will not reveal any secret in stating that a meeting will take place at the initiative of the president between the miners of the Wujek mine and the witnesses of those events."

After Events in Nowa Huta

On behalf of the president I can say that these acts of vandalism are alien to political culture that we strive for in Poland and whose proponent the president is. The acts of vandalism were condemned by the president. By all participants in today's conference and by members of the Polish Parliament and government. All these political forces voiced their condemnation of the steps of this kind. The president thinks that these actions are a sign of extreme unruliness and should never have taken place. These acts do harm to the good name of Poland worldwide and not only to good Polish-Soviet relations. Respect for recognized leaders of other countries is expressed also in respect for monuments and also for tombs, the spokesman said.

The President's Powers

During the round table debates the side on which I sat had basic doubts whether the president's powers did not go too far, Piotr Nowina Konopka said. We had such a feeling that the formula of Poland's presidential system is conceived as a peculiar safety-value should developments in Poland get out of control. I confirm from my own observations that the president does not use these powers of his that were guaranteed to him under the round table contract.

There are a number of president's deuties that often have no public character, Koziol said. They include the right of clemency. About 250 persons have taken advantage of the right of clemency since President Jaruzelski took over his office. Besides, about 800 people took advantage of the one-time humanitarian act by the end of November.

Poland's model of the presidency is only in the process of the making, Czyrek said. A debate on drawing up a new constitution and the constitution itself will determine the model's future shape. I would not rule out that the new constitution not only will not reduce powers of the president but that it can even increase them. All the more so as, the model of the Polish presidency is something intermediate between the French model and the Italian one.

New Electoral Regulations

I had talks with Professor Geremek on this topic, Minister Nowina-Konopka said. The point is that we have a somewhat disquieting legal situation. The electoral regulations under which the present parliament was formed were a one-time act. They were based on the political contract made up of the coalition composed at the time of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party], the United Peasant and the Democratic parties but today this coalition does not exist. From the purely legal point of view there is a need to prepare new electoral regulations, because if one theoretically imagined the dissolution of the Sejm now, the problem of the absence of electoral regulations would emerge.

Warsaw TV Report

LD1112190789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] At the Interpress headquarters, ministers of state and the president's press spokesman, Wlodzimierz Lozinski, met with domestic and foreign journalists.

[Correspondent] President Wojciech Jaruzelski has specified the range of duties that he has given to particular ministers of state. Jozef Czyrek has as his responsibility foreign policy and the representation of Poland abroad; Piotr Nowina-Konopka contacts with the Sejm and Senate, parties and political organizations and trade unions, churches, religious associations, people's councils and local government; Jozef Koziol the appointment of judges, the right of mercy, supervision over the activity of the bodies administering justice and the supreme bodies of the state administration, and also the constitutional tribunal.

At the news conference, exceptionally many questions related to the eighth anniversary of the introduction of martial law and the attitude of the president toward this event. Piotr Nowina-Konopka said that in the discussion about martial law, the main actors of this drama should above all be the ones who speak out. According to Jozef Czyrek, the president never hid the fact that martial law was the choice of a lesser evil and he consistently presents this evaluation. Wlodzimierz Lozinski confirmed this view, adding that Wojciech Jaruzelski has many times stressed that as the then premier and head of the armed forces he bears personal political and moral responsibility for the decision to introduce martial law.

PZPR CC Political Bureau Meets 11 Dec

LD1212104789 Warsaw PAP in English 0018 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 11: Polish United Workers Party [PUWP] CC Political Bureau met here today to get acquainted with the report on the course and results of

the first stage of elections of delegates for the 11th Congress. Participants assessed the way of electing candidates who will soon run in the elections.

They said that the discussion on party's future and the firm striving to maintain unity were the characteristic elements of the processes under way in the party. The party leadership assessed them positively. The dominant group among the candidates are PUWP members between 29 and 45 years of age.

Political Bureau called on all party members to take party in the elections, to support these candidates who speak in favor of the platform of the 16th plenary meeting and the reforms which lead to the modern left-wing party ating under parliamentary democracy.

The meeting discussed the documents to be submitted to the 11th Congress:

—on the situation in the countryside and food economy.

—on international situation and Poland's foreign policy.

—on problems and development of national education.

The Political Bureau resolved to work out and issue a statement in connection with the 8th anniversary of the introduction of the martial law in Poland.

Socialist Party National Holds Congress

Begins 9 Dec

LD1112043689 Warsaw PAP in English 2017 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Text] Wroclaw, Dec 9—The first national congress of the Polish Socialist Party - Democratic Revolution (PPS-RD) started here today with the participation of some 100 delegates.

The agenda of the congress provides for a discussion over lines of the party's activity, adoption of the programme and statute of the PPS-RD and election of the central board.

A group of foreign guests attends the debates of the congress. They are representatives of left-wing parties from Argentina, France, Sweden, Spain and Great Britain.

Representatives of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarnosc (SOLIDARITY) are present in the capacity of observers.

Speaking to PAP reporter Delegate Jozef Pinior of Wroclaw said "we want to capitalize in the best possible way on the experience of the past two years of the activity of the PPS-RD in a new socio- political situation of Poland. We want, above all, to counteract the processes of pauperization of society and lowered living standards of society.

"We do not hide our opposition against the programme of sweeping reprivatisation of the economy, liquidation of work establishments and the threat of unemployment".

Ends; Program Adopted

LD1112225589 Warsaw PAP in English 2141 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Wroclaw, Dec 11—The first national congress of the Polish Socialist Party-Democratic Revolution (PPS-RD) ended here today.

The congress adopted a programmatic declaration, statute and elected a ten-strong Chief Council.

PPS-RD will strive for free parliamentary election and will take part in it to realize the programme of self-governing system alternative, the declaration reads.

PPS-RD Chief Council member Jozef Pinior stressed that the party is in opposition to Mazowiecki's government because it arbitrarily imposes a dependent capitalist system on society and an economic programme based on incapacitation of trade union and self-government movements.

Succumbing to the dictate of the International Monetary Fund must lead to Poland's losing economic and political sovereignty, the programmatic declaration states.

PPS-RD will build a new order of social justice in cooperation with the nations of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

TANJUG Rounds Up Views on Multiparty System

LD0912171989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1646 GMT 9 Dec 89

[By Branka Stanisic]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 9 (TANJUG)—Although the League of Communists of Yugoslavia renounces its political monopoly, it is still uncertain whether Yugoslavia is heading for a multiparty system as the republican party organizations have different views on changes in the country's political system.

The two candidates for president of the League of Communists of Croatia have just come out with their own programmes in which they urge the introduction of a multiparty system in Yugoslavia.

The three candidates for head of Slovenia's League of Communists are also in favour of a multiparty system. Slovenian communists have already announced that they are willing to run against an organized opposition at parliamentary elections scheduled for next spring.

On the other hand, the communists of Serbia and its provinces Vojvodina and Kosovo decided at their congresses to pursue a non-party pluralism.

Congresses of republican party organizations, which precede the 14th special congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia scheduled for next January 20 through 22, are still underway.

In the run up to the 11th congress of the League of Communists of Croatia (to be held from December 11 to 13), the candidates for president of its Central Committee—Ivica Racan, 46, member of the current leadership, and Ivo Druzic, 39, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia—both say that the Yugoslav party has lost its legitimacy and that it should fight for it at direct elections by secret vote together with alternative political groups.

Racan believes that a new political system, like a market-oriented economy, cannot be introduced overnight and urges transitional solutions to this end.

Druzic, on the other hand, is explicitly in favour of a multiparty democracy of the parliamentary type. He says that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia should not be granted a transition period and that the next elections should be held in a multiparty system.

Slovenian communists have three candidates for the post of party president, to be elected by the party congress on December 22 and 23. They are members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Boris Muzevic, member of the Slovenian party leadership Ciril Ribicic and Maribor party president Franci Pivec.

Presenting their political views in the Slovenian party weekly EUROPA DANES (EUROPE TODAY), all three candidates actually advocated the programme favoured by their party, i.e. the right to political association and competition by several parties at elections.

The League of Communists of Serbia, which also comprises the party organizations of Vojvodina and Kosovo, proposes a non-party pluralism with different unions, associations and movements jointly creating a Yugoslav synthesis. Unlike classical parties, they would not have the right to directly participate in the political struggle for power. The system is aimed at avoiding all the negative properties of a multiparty system in the already complicated relations among the republics.

At their congress which ended today the communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina left enough room for both variants. They believe that it is not up to the League of Communists to grant or deny the citizens the constitutional right to political association.

A similar opinion was voiced by the special congresses of the League of Communists of Montenegro and Macedonia.

It remains to be seen whether the coming congress of the federal party will be able to reconcile the opposing views on political pluralism. The majority of communists believe that further development of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and even its survival, will depend on this.

Petition Urges Legalization of Political Parties

LD1012235889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1543 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 10 (TANJUG)—A petition urging the legalization of political parties and their participation on an equal footing with the League of Communists in next spring's elections, is being signed in Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia since Sunday morning.

By now, between seven and ten thousand people are estimated to have signed the petition in the republic's capital of Zagreb alone. The action has been organized by 12 non-registered political organizations.

Seeking practically the introduction of a multi-party system, the authors of the petition claim that the existing political system has proved "unable to guarantee either the basic rights, or security of the individual and political groups."

The petition seeks the "release of all political prisoners and the halting of political persecution," and urges Croatian (?officials) to care persistently for the inviolability of the sovereignty of their republic and work for calming in a civilized manner the current conditions in Yugoslavia." [quotation marks as received] It also wants "free elections to be called within a month for a Croatian Assembly which would adopt a new republican constitution and participate in adopting a new federal Constitution."

The petition concludes by saying that unless the signatories' demands are met, "they will resort to constitutionally (?sovereign non-violent) political actions to corroborate them."

The results of a poll conducted by the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee's Social Research Centre show that about 30 per cent of the 5,000 interviewed League of Communists members consider a multi-party system necessary.

Seventeen percent of those polled hold the multi-party system both possible and necessary, 13 per cent necessary but not possible, 39 per cent possible but not necessary, and 31 per cent neither possible, nor necessary.

Opinions in favour of the multi-party system were most pronounced in Slovenia (36 p[illegible]ent) and Croatia (19), and least pronounced in M[illegible]ro (6) and Serbia (9).

Stanovnik Terms S[illegible]ggression'

LD1112200389 Belgr[illegible] English
1311 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 11 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Janez Stanovnik said on Monday that the economic blockade of this republic by another federal unit, Serbia, was "an aggression of Yugoslavia".

Addressing an emergency session of the republican parliament called to discuss the situation following the blockade, Stanovnik said that the Slovenes "have no intention to respond to economic aggression by reciprocal measures".

The same point was made by Slovenian Premier Dusan Sinigoj, who said that retaliatory measures "to this unconstitutional act which undermines the unity of the Yugoslav market" would only augment its negative impact on the Yugoslav economy.

Serbia imposed the blockade in response to a ban of "the rally of truth" scheduled for December 1 in Slovenia's capital Ljubljana, at which Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins wanted to acquaint the Slovenian people with their harassment by Albanian separatists. Viewing the ban as another proof of (?Albania's) alleged separatism and disregard for Yugoslavia, the Serbian leadership called on the enterprises in their republic to sever all ties with Slovenia.

Describing the move as "unprecedented", Stanovnik today said that it "called for new agreement on (?the existing) for of co-existence in Yugoslavia".

Slovene Assembly Discusses Serbian Relations

LD1112192989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1146 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Ljublajana, 11 Dec (TANJUG)—At today's extraordinary session, delegates of the three chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovania discussed the situation arisen following the unilateral decision of the organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovania, Janez Stanovnik, and the president of the Republican Executive Council, Dusan Sinigoj, read their introductory addresses.

In Stanovnik's words, the severance of all relations with the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, categorically endorsed by the inaugural address of the president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, has inflicted a severe blow on AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]-based Yugoslavia. The contents of this speech is without precedent in civilized states. It would not be in keeping with the dignity of this assembly if we were to reply in the same manner. You have been given the copy of the speech of the president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Janez Stanovnik said. He noted that there, instead of AVNOJ-based Yugoslavia, as a shared homeland of equal nations, a unitarist state is being imposed. On the spur of the moment the Socialist Republic of Slovenia is reduced to "the Slovene part of the Yugoslav state." The democratic right of the Slovene people to elect their own political leadership is challenged by an ultimatum: Either you renounce your leadership and dignity, or we will continue our boycott.

By such a move the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the whole of Yugoslavia have found themselves in a completely new situation, Janez Stanovnik assessed, and added that "this assembly, as this republic's highest organ of authority, must adjudicate upon all the consequences of such a move and decide on our further way." [passage omitted]

Serbs Protest in Pec, Denounce Slovene Leadership

AU1212100589 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 9 Dec 89 p 9

[N. Sadiku report: "Protest Meeting of Serbian and Montenegrin Citizens"]

[Excerpt] Pec, 8 Dec—The Pec branch of the Kosovo Polje "Peony" Association for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins held a protest meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins in the small Pec sports hall today. The meeting strongly denounced the stands of the leadership of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia regarding the prevention of the rally of truth in Ljubljana. Dr Sveto Babovic, branch chairman, opened the meeting, which was attended by about 1,500 people, mainly from Pec and neighboring communes. Kosta Bulatovic from Kosovo Polje then greeted the meeting. Radovan Radulovic, coordinator of the group, and Vladimir Raicevic then spoke to the meeting. The latter, among other things, expressed his dissatisfaction and strongly denounced the stands of the Slovene leadership which, he said, failed to understand the problems faced by the Serbian and Montenegrin population in Kosovo, as was shown by the measures used to prevent the rally in Ljubljana. He also spoke at length about the problem of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, which is a result of the activity

of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. The meeting also supported the stands taken by the Serbian and Kosovo presidiums of the Socialist Alliance of Working People. [passage omitted]

Pec Situation Termed 'Severe'

AU0512204989 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 5 Nov 89

[Text] Today's extended meeting of the Pec Communal Committee of the League of Communists [LC] examined the general political and security situation in the commune and beyond. The meeting stressed that the situation is rather severe, and it appears that it will deteriorate. This is due particularly to the Slovene leadership's ban on the Ljubljana rally. The situation is also made worse by reactions in some environments in connection with the changes in the names of some streets in Pec.

Green Movement Founded in Sarajevo

AU2711073189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Nov 89 p 13

[M. L. report: "'Greens' in Sarajevo"]

[Text] Sarajevo—The "Green" movement, which will operate under the motto "Think globally, operate locally," was founded at the Law Faculty in Sarajevo. The Sarajevo "Greens" will fight for the preservation of a clean environment, because the official institutions have not succeeded in this. The new "Greens" have yet to prove themselves in achieving the set tasks such as developing social conscience about the real social-ecological environment and in sustaining in full and objective reporting to the public on ecological problems....

The application form to join the movement was signed by 88 people right initially. There is no doubt that the Sarajevo "Green" movement will have many more members, because it is expected that the movement will expand to other places.